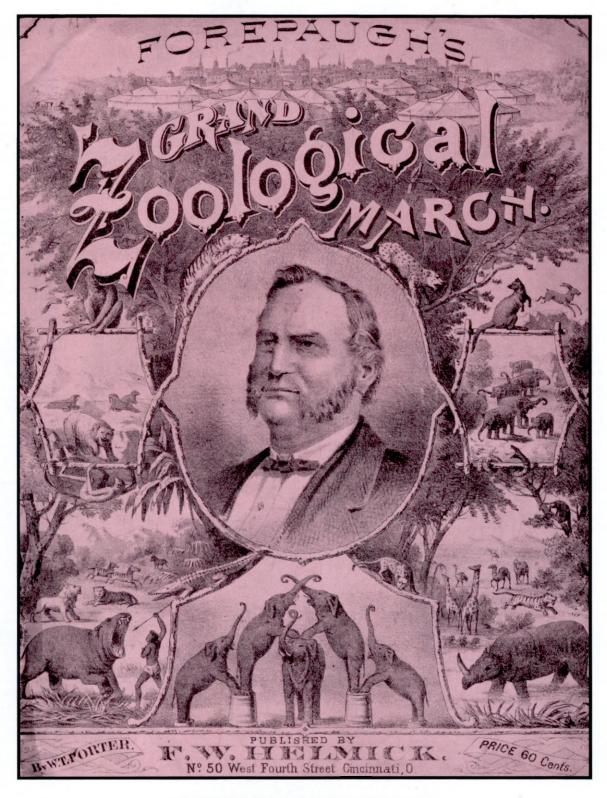
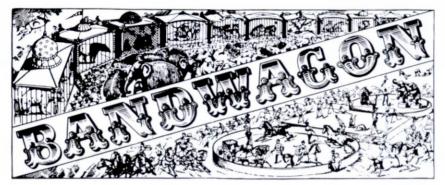
BANDWAGON

JOURNAL OF THE CIRCUS HISTORICAL SOCIETY



SEPTEMBER-OCTOBER 1985



THE JOURNAL OF THE CIRCUS HISTORICAL SOCIETY Vol. 29, No. 5 SEPTEMBER-OCTOBER 1985

Fred D. Pfening, Jr., Editor

Fred D. Pfening III, Managing Editor and Joseph T. Bradbury, Associate Editor

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2914

Ed Kearney

3070 Del Monte Drive

THIS MONTH'S COVER

The writing of special music for circus performances appears to have begun in the late 1870s. One of the earliest surviving examples is Forepaugh's Grand Zoological March by W.T. Porter, which is the subject of this month's cover. Published by the F.W. Helmick Co. of Cincinnati, and printed in black and white by the Strobridge firm in 1877, the seven-page score included Adam Forepaugh himself on the cover. It is unknown if the music was actually played in the big show or was simply trading on the Forepaugh name. It is, nevertheless, a fine piece of show art. Original in Pfening Archives.

NEW MEMBERS

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2915

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Frederick Walter Braid 5 Jarrett St. Ballina, N.S.W., Australia 2474

2921

873

Ed Jones Resigns as CHS Secretary-Treasurer

Due to a myriad of health problems, Ed Jones has resigned as CHS Secretary-Treasurer, effective November 1. Both Jones and his wife Jean, who has functioned as co-Secretary-Treasurer, have experienced a number of serious health difficulties in the past year, which has made it impossible for them to continue. CHS President Richard Flint, in accepting the resignation, noted: "The Joneses have done a tremendous job in executing the thankless, time-consuming, and often mundane task of keeping the society's books. They were always highly professional in discharging their duties, and it is highly regrettable that they have decided to step down." Bandwagon Editor Fred Pfening Jr. commented: "It was a pleasure working with both Ed and Jean. Because of the excellent job they did, few members appreciated the dedication and time they put into the job, especially in the spring when the dues notices are sent out. In the almost ten years we worked together we never had a major problem."

President Flint has appointed Johann Dahlinger, wife of well-known circus historian Fred Dahlinger, to fill the unexpired term. She will assume the position on November 1.

CHS Election Upcoming

CHS President Richard W. Flint has appointed George Morrison election commissioner. If you wish to nominate a member as a national officer or director, please mail the nomination before November 15 to Morrison at 41 Patricia Ave.. Pittsfield, Mass. 01201. Directors can be nominated only by members from that Division, and any member of the organization can be nominated for the three national offices. President Flint, following the tradition of four years of service, has declined to run again. Vice-President Fred Pfening III has expressed a willingness to serve as President, and Greg Parkinson a willingness to serve as Vice-President. Newly appointed Secretary-Treasurer Johann Dahlinger is willing to continue to serve in that capacity. A ballot will be enclosed with the November-December Bandwagon, and the new officers will begin their terms on January 1,

WANTED: INFORMATION ON THE ST LEONS IN THE USA

Alfred St Leon and his family of allround circus performers came from Australia to America in 1900 and were associated with many famous American circuses in the years that followed. The family comprised, as well as Alfred, his wife Ida and their children Elsie, Golda, George, Ida and Vera. The family was most renowned for its equestrian work. They were with the W.H. Harris Nickel Plate (1900), Forepaugh-Sells (1903 and 1907), Pubillones (1905-6 and 1906-7), Wallace (1906), Frank A. Robbins (1910), and Barnum and Bailey (1914). The family was engaged each year from 1908 through 1913 by Frederic Thompson for his travelling melodrama Polly of the Circus as well as for his outdoor summer circus at Luna Park, Coney Island. George St Leon's wife's name was Lillian and she was a rider in Bostock's Riding School around 1922. The Agnes, Doss and Mary St Leon who appeared with the Cole circus in 1935 may have been the children of George and Lillian.

I would like to locate any biographical, anecdotal, or photographic material on the Alfred St Leon family. I may be willing to pay for some items. I am particularly interested to locate any of the descendants of Alfred St Leon who may still be living. Please write to Mark St Leon 172/392 Jones Street, Ultimo 2007 NSW Australia.

CIRCUS HISTORICAL SOCIETY May 1, 1984 thru April 30, 1985

Balance in First National Bank May 1, 1984 Balance in Mutual Federal S&L May 1, 1984		256.90 3839.34	
			4096.24
Receipts:			
Dues	18428.60		
Subscriptions	2726.89		
Back Issue Sales	977.67		
Advertising	2571.00		
Convention	2500.00		
Bank Interest	608.84		
Tax Withheld	- 105.83		
Total Receipts			27707.17
Grand Total			31803.41
Disbursements:			
Bandwagon Printing	26286.11		
Bandwagon Postage	810.00		
Bandwagon Mailing Expense	629.62		
Sec'y-Treas. Postage	638.26		
Canadian Exchange & Bank Ser. Chg.	102.09		
Misc. Expense	645.44		
Total Disbursements			29111.52
Balance April 30, 1985			2691.89
First National Bank Checking Acct.			750.54
Mutual Federal S&L Money Market Acct.			1941.35
Audit Statement prepared by:			2691.89
Gerald F. Combs October 2, 1985			

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Fox's Performing Horses, 1960	15.95
Fox & Parkinson's The Circus in America,	
1968, 1st Ed.	29.95
Parkinson & Fox's The Circus Moves by Rail.	39.95
Fox's Circus Baggage Stock	34.95
and of course the new one	
Fox and Parkinson's Billers, Banners & Bombast	39.95
Also:	
Joanne Joy's The Wild Animal Trainer in America	39.95

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THE AL G. BARNES

WILD ANIMAL CIRCUS 1924

The management of the Al G. Barnes' Big Four-Ring Wild Animal Circus planned a glorious tour for the show in 1924, beginning with its southern California dates and then moving north through the state and into the Northwest. It was to be a repetition of the great earlier years that had proved so successful. However, after a wonderful start—it lasted for 15 days, including the big, seven-day stand in Los Angeles—the show was forced back to its quarters in Palms, California, and then made a remarkable run of 2,058 miles to Galesburg, Illinois, to re-open the season.

It will be recalled that the circus had opened the 1923 season in Dallas, Texas, after wintering at Love Field near that city. Thus, for the second year in a row the Barnes' Show essentially played its route in reverse. Two other events occurred which made this season of 1924 significant. On 14 July, at Denver, Colorado, the Al G. Barnes' Circus made its final "Grand Free Street Parade." It was the first circus to abandon its parade after the Ringling-Barnum show had done so following the 1920 season. The second event was a disastrous fire while on the move from Chico to Willows, California, on the night of 30 September-1 October, when the stock car carrying the ballet horses and the famous ten-horse flag team caught fire and 36 prize horses died.

The executive staff had been changed almost immediately after its return to quarters the previous fall. J.B. Austin, manager, was selected general agent and railroad contractor, and Charles C. Cook, a long-time employee, had been chosen manager. Additional staff for 1924 were: Wm. K. Peck, on the front door and personal representative for Al G. Barnes (Peck also dated from the earlier years with the

Capt. C.C. Charles and his trained sea lions, Al G. Barnes Circus, season of 1924. Harold Davidson Collection.

by CHANG REYNOLDS

show); H.I. McGlathery was treasurer with H.H. Franklin as secretary; and L.B. Hopkins, as auditor. Local contractor was R.W. Thompson while George P. Roy served as special agent.

The press and advertising department was manned by Thomas "Skinny" Dawson, contracting press agent with the always-present Rex de Rosselli, press agent back with the show. Jack Glines was manager of advertising car No. 1; C.W. Owens had Car No. 2, and Dick Simpson was boss of Car No. 3. (Most circus historians list the 1924 Barnes' train as 30 cars, which included one advance car, 14 flats, seven stocks, and eight sleepers. This would indicate that the show used only one special car in advance-it was a wooden combination baggage-coach type car. The other advance crews must have traveled on regular railroad cars.) Herman Colp was the checker-up and "Dusty" Rhodes, another Barnes' old-timer, and J.W. Peterson were the 24-hour men.

The heads of departments were: Henry Emgard, manager of the side-show; Frank Rooney, general superintendent; Tom Everett, superintendent of privileges; Charles "Spud" Redrick, musical director; Nels Lausten, superintendent of reserved seat tickets; "Whitie" Jensen, boss canvasman; W.J. "Shanty" Long, trainmaster; W.H. Tshudy, boss hostler; Ed Veersteege, superintendent of lights; George Tipton, superintendent of commissary; Sam Burgey, superintendent of ring stock; N.W. "Red" McKay, superintendent of elephants; and Louis Roth, superintendent of the menagerie. John T. Backman was the equestrian director following Bob Thornton's departure to the John Robinson circus. Two announcers were listed-Dr. Gunning and L.E. Blondin.

This roster was announced in the Billboard of 22 March, which also stated that the show would travel on 30 cars and open in Santa Monica, 15 March. Joe Bradbury comments on this train as follows: "All, or part, of one of the sleepers was used as a privilege car. Stocks and flats were painted orange with red lettering while the sleepers were red with black lettering. In 1924 Barnes had one of the finest and most modern trains on the road. At St. Louis, in midseason 1920, Barnes' old open-end platform sleepers were replaced with seven new vestibule-type sleepers right out of Pullman service. The following seasons Barnes got new flats and stocks from the Mt. Vernon Car Mfg. Co. All were 70 and 72 feet long."

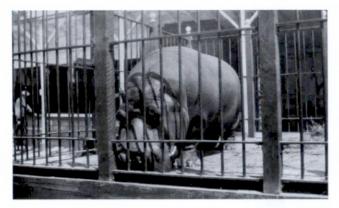
The first item of business for the new season was the successful solution to a suit filed against the show by the United Advertising Co. of Paterson, New Jersey. The company alleged that the Barnes' Show had bannered their newest locations—probably without paying a fee. Ben Austin and attorneys from Paterson successfully obtained a judgement for the circus.

About this time in January it was announced from Palms that an outstanding new attraction had been obtained for the circus. This new feature proved to be the famous movie orang-utang, "Joe Martin." A Hollywood animal star for several years, this ape was billed by the Barnes' Show as "monkey," "gorilla," or "chimpanzee" but seldom as an orang-utang, which photos from those years prove he was. "Joe Martin" was a feature in the famous silent serial of "15 Electrifying Episodes" entitled *The Adventures of Tarzan*. This movie was filmed in 1921 and starred Elmo Lincoln (the first screen Tarzan), Louise Lor-

Al G. Barnes ring stock stables at the Palms (Culver City, Barnes City), California, winterquarters about 1924. Harold Davidson Collection.









Lotus, the hippo, at the Al G. Barnes winterquarters, Palms, California, about 1924. Harold Davidson Collection.

raine, Lillian Werth, and Frank Whitson. Perhaps some readers of this article will recall this well-known film. The sale of "Joe Martin" to the Al G. Barnes' Circus followed reports of a change in the animal's disposition which had made him too dangerous and intractable for further work before the camera in close contact with valuable actors.

Harley Tyler arranged the purchase of this simian from the Universal Company. which, at that time, possessed a large zoo of film animals. In the initial roster of the show, George Emerson was listed as being in charge of "Joe Martin." Emerson was employed at the Universal Zoo for several years, but it is not known how long he traveled with the circus.

Two want advertisements appeared in late January and early February. The first was a request for musicians by Charles E. Redrick, band master, and the second was a general order for working men with circus experience.

A third report in late February mentioned the huge crowds which were attending the Barnes' Zoo. Manager Cook had some stages erected which featured, among other attractions, the eleven midgets who entertained the visitors with songs and dances. A new corral had been constructed which revealed forest settings with zebras, camels, buffalo, elk, llamas, deer, zebus, reindeer, kangaroos, wild boars, and Philippine water buffalo. Another area with rock formations was used to display the Bengal, Siberian, and Sumatran tigers. Still another novelty was the use of the elephants by "Red" McKay to do the plowing on the ranch. Al G. attracted a great deal of publicity by driving two elk hitched to a cart from Palms to Venice.

All departments, under the direction of the various superintendents, were putting the finishing touches to the trains, wagons, canvas, and properties. The baggage stock, which was wintering on a ranch in San Luis Obispo County (more than 200 miles to the north) were in excellent condition, according to Frank Rooney. While the feed and climate at that location were favorable to the stock, it was a poor location-because of the distance-when the foot-and-mouth epidemic broke out.

Alfred Wolfe and his wife, the former Ruth Cohn (both former well-known employees of the show), often visited the quarters. Wolfe was still successfully in the public market business, his being the largest such market on that side of Los Angeles. Jake Jacobson was signed to handle the novelties while Tom Everett took on the candy stands for the season. Trainers working in quarters were: Louis Roth and wife, Charles Charles (seals), Bert Dennis, H.I. Morris, Max Sabel, "Red" McKay, Robert Young, Bob McCain, John T. Backman, Leo Blondin, Jose de Rosselli, and James Young.

Visitors of note were Cecil B. de Mille, Pola Negri, Estelle Taylor, Carl Laemmle, all from the movie studios, and Bob Morton, whose circus was playing in the vicinity of Pasadena in February. In addition to the Morton Circus, the Escalante Circus was playing to stands east of Los Angeles, while the Perez Circus was about to start on its tour from its quarters in La Verne, California

Many of the departments had concentrated on developing the new and original spectacle, "Pocahontas at the Court of Queen Anne." The long-used "Alice in Jungleland" was a thing of the past, although, in some respects, it was the finest spectacle ever produced by the Barnes' Circus. It was stated in the spring of 1924 that the idea of an Indian spectacle was conceived and planned by Al G. Barnes. Of course,

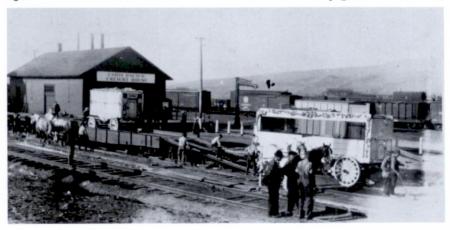
Loading cages on Al G. Barnes flat cars, 1924. Cage 106 is at left, Cage 179 at right. Harold Davidson Collection.

Mable Gardner's trained elephant act on the Al G. Barnes lot, Seattle, Washington, August 4-6, 1924. Harold Davidson Collection.

the development and staging were worked out by Rex de Rosselli. The lighting effects, a large part of the production, were originated by Charles C. Cook. The musical score was written by Morrie B. Streeter and the wardrobe constructed by Mrs. Louis Roth. All three rings and the track were used for the presentation and nearly every performer took part. The spectacle was presented in two parts. It opened with a curtain drawn back from the throne, which was located back of the rings, and the entire tent was darkened except for various colored spots and flood lights. The band played operatic music instead of the usual circus tunes and its members appeared in long black coats striped with buff, and helmets of white and silver embellished with steel spikes twelve inches

In the ring for Part One of the amazing production were Charles K. Miller as chief Powatan; Wellington Mack as Okokomache; Chief Thunder Face as the Medicine Man; Henry Ellis as Capt. John Smith: Pocahontas was played by Maree Baudet. Five tribes of Indians, namely Sioux, Chippewa, Navajo, Pueblo, and Apache, supported the main cast. (What those tribes ever had to do with Pocahontas in a historical sense was left to the imagination of the viewer and the dreams of Al G. Barnes.)

Act Two of the pageant was set in the



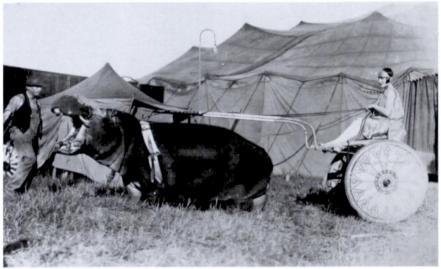


Clown band on No. 181, Elephant Tableau, in Al G. Barnes street parade, 1924. Harold Davidson Collection.

court of Queen Anne. Lottie Le Claire played the role of her highness; Charles K. Miller dropped his Indian costume and became King James; Wellington Mack was the Minister to the King; Madame Golda was the Queen's lady-in-waiting; while Harlan Jones (courtier) and Johnnie Miller (page) filled out the cast. This scene featured a singing number that drew many rounds of applause. The tent went black again, except for the effects of the colored spots which revealed Indians in tepees and presenting sacred dances.

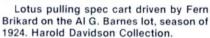
The tournament followed with a colorful parade of people and animals. Bernice Brown, Lillian Hopper, and Ethel Chase, in exquisite costumes, rode three of the largest elephants, which were garbed in sparkling robes. This most colorful display ended with the Gunning Davis Family presenting a native Australian dance, "Kand-

Al G. Barnes lot at Twin Falls, Idaho, September 4, 1924, following blowdown of the padroom top. Harold Davidson Collection.



you." They wore elaborate plumed headdresses and performed against a back drop of two curtains of silver fire dropping from the top of the tent. B.M. Cunningham, as the town crier, did the announcing.

At this point, John T. Backman blew his whistle and the rings were cleared for the



parade of the European midgets. Walter Van Horn announced this attraction. The little people were followed by the lumbering hippopotamus, "Lotus," pulling a cart in which Mrs. Brikard rode. These two attractions amounted to Displays No. 1 and

Arena—Louis Roth with his large group of Bengal tigers Ring 2—Six-pony drill No. 4 Ring 1—Group of performing elephants, Margaret Graham Arena—Tiger riding a horse, Mabel

> Ring 2—Group of performing elephants, Maud Edwards Stage 1—Giant trained cockatoos,

> Stage 2—Monkey act, H.I. Morris Hippodrome Track — Clowns: Andy Avoid, Charles Bathe, Jack

No. 3 Ring 1-Six-pony drill

Gardner

Madame Golda

Chase, Walter Eagen, Charles Grubb, Harlan Jones, Kinko, Bert Leo, Jack Laurie, Monte Melford, Johnny Moore, "Dutch" Marco, Jack McAfee, Danny McAvoy, "Curley" Phillips, Tom Plank, Billy Rowe, Joe Rumford, C.L. Sunbury, Harry Stanford, Billy Ward, Arthur La Rue, and Ernie Wielapp (midget)

No. 6 Hippodrome Track—Ida Mae Emgard, with a group of trained rabbits.

No. 7 Ring 1—Monkey riding a goat
Arena—Group of Persian leopards,
Nellie Roth
Ring 2—Barnyard comedians, a
group of educated pigs

No. 8 Clowns

No. 9 Ring 1—Mixed group containing an American Bison, a water buffalo, and zebras. Arena—Group of South American pumas, Miss Rosetta



Ring 2-Group of performing camels and mules

No. 10 Ring 1-Leaping dogs, John T. Backman

Arena-"Sultan," the lioness riding a horse, Agnes Lausten Ring 2—Leaping dogs, Peter Sears

No. 11 Hippodrome Track-Men riding and driving ostriches

No. 12 Clowns

No 13 Ring 1-Performing dogs, Ethel Chase

Arena-Six performing bears, George Foster

Ring 2—Performing dogs, Dorothy Devine

No. 14 High diving monkey, "Rocco," at one end of the tent and dogs and monkeys in a high-diving and leaping act at the other end.

No. 15 Ring 1-Twelve cream-colored Liberty horses

Arena-Eight performing zebras,



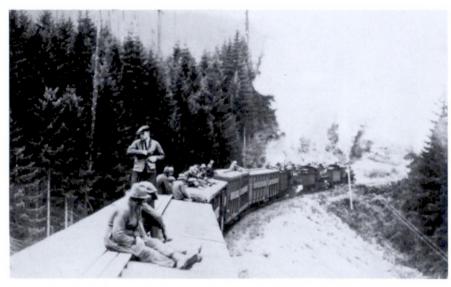
Joe Martin, famous movie orang-utang, in his den on the Al G. Barnes Circus. The cage is one of the three former John Robinson Ten Big Shows cottage type that the Barnes show had. This shot was evidently taken in 1925 since that animal occupied a different cage in 1924. Harold Davidson Collection.

Herbert Cook

Ring 2-Twelve spotted Liberty horses

No. 16 Lottie Le Claire with the dove song -she drove a pure white phaeton

No. 17 Clowns and singing donkey, 'Bimbo," on the track



Al G. Barnes train on a Sunday run enroute to Tilanook, Oregon, August 17, 1924. The steep grades required three locomotives in front and two in rear. Harold Davidson Collection.

No. 18 Ring 1-Wrestling bears Arena—Group of polar bears, Bert Nelson

Ring 2-Wrestling bears No. 19 Clowns, monkeys and dogs

No. 20 On the Hippodrome Track-Posing horses and riders. Included: Louis Roth, Nellie Roth, Mabel E. Gardner, Jackie Shannon, Ruth Vincent, Bernice Collins, Bessie Du Four, Victoria Gunning Davis, Babe Gunning Davis, Stanley Gunning Davis, Gertrude Gunning Davis, Spot Gunning Davis, Dot Whitney, Mary Kinko, Billie McGlathery, Mabel Scott, Helen Roth, Juanita Matuseka, Ida Mae

Eddie Reece, strongman, in the Al G. Barnes sideshow season of 1924 performing his act on the midway of allowing an automobile to run over his body. Note the 1924 Dealer's license plate on the auto. Harold Davidson Collection.

Emgard, Mrs. Golda Backman. Agnes Lausten, Margaret Graham, Maude Edwards, Clara Everett, Mrs. Lela Plank, Mrs. George E. Miller, Betty Kenyon, Gussie and Johnnie Miller, Mrs. Ralph A. Miller, Mrs. Lillian Hopkins, Gertrude Phillips, Edith Bruner, Bobbie Todd, Mlle. Pearlita, Jewel Jackson, Mary Lou Kimball, Kharviria Buebek, Irene Grizzell, Dorothy Devon, Ethel Chase, and Nettie Rooney.

B.B. Cunningham then announced the concert, which featured Indians, cowboys, cowgirls, and Eddie Reece.

No. 21 Ring 1-Troupe of educated wild boars, Capt. Leo Blondin

Arena-Group of Nubian lions, Bessie Du Four

Ring 2-Group of performing sea lions, Capt. C.C. Charles

No. 22 A carnival of clowns

No. 23 Three rings of performing elephants directed by Mabel Gardner, Babe Davis, and Victoria Davis

No. 24 Elephants carryng ponies, girls and Great Dane dogs on the hippodrome track.





No. 25 Ring 1—Performing goats
Arena—Four zebras ridden by a
leopard, dog, raccoon, and monkey—John T. Backman
Ring 2—Performing llamas

No. 26 Forty Dancing Horses and Girls on the Hippodrome Track

No. 27 Ring 1—Performing elephants,
Wm. N. McKay
Arena—"Rex," the riding lion,
Margaret Graham
Ring 2—Performing elephants,
James Young

No. 28 Clowns

No. 29 Ring 1—"Good-night Pony"

Arena—Fifteen female lions,

Louis Roth

Ring 2—Riding dog and monkey

No. 30 Hunting scene on the hippodrome track, finishing with hurdle jumping

No. 31 Educated geese and American eagles performing at each end of the track

No. 32 Herd of performing reindeer on the track

No. 33 Ring 1—Balloon pony, Mary Kinko Arena—Balloon lion, Bessie Du No. 180 tableau wagon with Indians atop ready to leave the Al G. Barnes lot for the morning street parade, season of 1924. Walker Morris photo in the Joe Bradbury Collection.

Ring 2—Balloon pony, Nellie McGlathery

No. 34 The "Yankee Doodle" number: Jack Mcafee driving a ten-in-hand team around the track at full speed

Not mentioned in the account above was William D. McIntosh and his sacred oxen. Also omitted was a reference to the "butterfly dance" on the spectacle, which featured four girls in green and pink and silver gauze, light blue and purple, mandarin and yellow-spangled, rainbow combinations. The fact that Tusko remained in quarters during this season was not mentioned. It was unfortunate that this magnificent animal could not be included in the 1924 tour.

Cages and tableau wagons forming on the AI G. Barnes lot for the street parade, season of 1924. Walker Morris photo in the Joe Bradbury Collection.

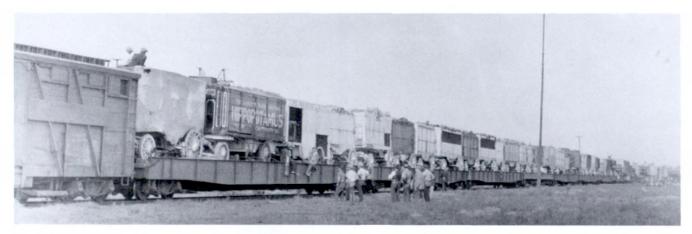
The canvas spread was probably the same size as it had been in recent years. No size for any of the tops was listed in any of the reviews of the show. The big top presumably was a 160-foot round with three 50-foot middle pieces; the menagerie was an 80-foot round with five 40-foot middle pieces; the side-show a 60-foot round with two 30-foot middles; a dressing top of 140 × 32; pad room of the same size; two horse tents which were 70 imes 32: wardrobe 24 imes18: cookhouse 50 × 100: and various smaller tops for concessions and stake and chain. That the canvas was not new at the season's opening is indicated by the reporter's statement that the new canvas had been damaged by fire at Downie Bros.' plant just before the show opened.

The menagerie was the usual exhibition of Barnes' exotic livestock. In addition to the feature, "Joe Martin," there was the usual large collection of big cats, birds, and numerous lead stock, including a large number of zebras and camels. Due to arrive in another week, said the reporter, were four giraffes scheduled to be the big feature. This, of course, didn't happen.

Tusko was left at the Barnes Circus City in Palms during the 1924 season. The elephants who did travel were the familiar and more or less reliable Ruth, Babe, Jewel, Pearl, Jenny, Barney, and Vance. Of these, only Barney was becoming a little difficult to handle. There were probably ten bulls in all—the others being the young animals received at the end of the 1922 season.

Henry Emgard, manager of the sideshow, had several fine displays under his top. The most publicized feature was Klinkhart Midget Troupe from Europe, who still occupied the center platform. Additional displays were: Mathilde La Pitre, mind reading; Montana Ross and Sundown Slim, impalement act; Punch and Judy; Valda La Mar, sword walking; Eddie Reece, strong man; Hawaiian dancers and musicians; Mazia, bag punching; Prof. Wright's Alabama minstrels; and various magic feats. Hal La Pitra, the assistant to





Emgard, did the announcing and Dan J. Meggs, Ralph A. Fisher, and J.W. Clark were in the ticket boxes.

The Annex, or No. 2 side-show, was managed by Al Copeland. Featured in it were: Tex Madison, the Texas giant; the human skeleton; Alice from Dallas, the fat girl; a den of snakes; Julian, the tattooed marvel; a big ape; and Madagascar Joe and his troupe of Mexican dogs. Thomas Grant and Joe Davis handled the ticket boxes. (The reader should note that the line-ups of the side-show and its annex are listed here as they appeared at the opening in Los Angeles. There were to be many changes before the tour concluded.)

The dread epidemic of foot-and-mouth disease was first reported in Alameda County in February 1924. The area was promptly quarantined but within days the ban regarding movement of livestock was extended to Contra Costa and Solano counties and shortly thereafter to Napa County. All these quarantined counties were in the San Francisco area and directly in the path of the scheduled movement of the Barnes' circus.

In addition to the prohibition of livestock movement, vigorous measures were taken against coyotes and other wild carnivores; dogs had to be tied up or confined to cages; there were no public sales of livestock conducted; chickens, pigeons and cats were to be confined; and no garbage could be fed to pigs or other animals or birds. Neither the Southern Pacific Railroad nor the American Express Company could receive either livestock or dressed meat from the quarantined area and ranch-

Al G. Barnes loaded flat cars, season of 1924. Note third wagon from the left is the cage housing Joe Martin, famous movie orang-utang. Also note fourth flat car from the left is one of the "old style straight bottom profile" Mt. Vernon built flats. Walker Morris photo in the Joe Bradbury Collection.

ers were directed to discontinue all slaughtering operations.

By early March, before the Barnes' Show opened, 17 counties were under some type of provisional quarantine and four others were under close quarantine. San Luis Obispo County, where the Barnes' baggage stock were being wintered, was one of those affected by the provisions. Al G. Barnes, with his circus about to open, was frustrated-he could not move his stock to Palms for the opening date. However, by some means, probably political, he finally negotiated a permit to ship the horses south, provided they could pass the inspection. This movement was completed successfully a few days before the show opened. Helpful in this regard was the partial lifting of the quarantine as the state officials thought the epidemic was under control.

Present readers would assume that AlG. Barnes would have been alerted by the restrictions on movement of stock and would have planned, at an early date, to move out of California. However, the constant state-

Al G. Barnes cages on the street ready for the street parade to begin, season of 1924. Walker Morris photo in the Joe Bradbury Collection.



ments by state officials that the epidemic would soon be under control probably deceived the circus management. The Barnes' show was not the only organization to suffer during this time. All zoos and menageries in the area were affected by the law restricting the movement of cattle and horses. This was especially true for animals that required meat in their diet. For example, it was reported that the 25 lions at the Universal City zoo were starving since horse meat could not be brought into the city. Also, some studios were idle because they could not move any animals to "loca-

Despite the assurances of the officials that the disease was nearly under control, late in March there was still another serious outbreak among some 3,700 head of beef cattle at ranches in Merced and Mariposa counties. Again the quarantine was enacted in all counties from Ventura north. (Ventura is the county just to the north of Los Angeles County.) Unfortunately, some of the infected cattle had been shipped during the partial lifting of the quarantine and they had arrived in the stockyards in San Francisco and at Vernon, where the Los Angeles beef cattle were processed. At that time Los Angeles County was strictly quarantined and there could be no movement of animals anywhere in the county. Even the movement of people was restricted in that they had to drive their automobiles through troughs of disinfectant and in some rural areas had to don rubber boots and wade through vats of the same liquid when entering farms or other spots where domestic animals were located.

With all this going on, the Al G. Barnes' Circus made a brief 15-day tour and returned to quarters. After completing the week's stand in Los Angeles, it played San Pedro and Redondo Beach. It then moved to Long Beach, where it was forced to remain for two days because of the quarantine. It finally was given permission to leave the beach city and played Alhambra and Glendale. The show was prevented from leaving the county and State officials advised the management of the circus to return to quarters for a week or ten days until the foot-and-mouth disease was under control. The advance brigade was called



back to quarters to await further orders as to the show's movement.

From 30 March until 20 April the show remained in quarters with the entire corps of employees intact. Notes from Palms at this time indicated that the trainers were breaking new acts; Frank Rooney completed the construction of a canvas loader—it did the work of 20 men and spared the canvas from wear and tear; Charles Cook was developing new lighting effects; and Al G. Barnes was sued for \$7,000 by his former wife (which one was not named in the report).

Also during this period of inactivity, Ernie Bates took charge of the ringstock; James Morrow, for many years with the Barnes' Circus, was engaged as announcer at the zoo; as, significantly, J.B. Austin, general agent, worked furiously in the Eastern states.

On 20 April all records for circus train movements were shattered when the Al G. Barnes' Circus jumped from Los Angeles (Palms) to Galesburg, Illinois, a distance of 2.058 miles. The train left the City of the Angels at six o'clock in the morning on 20 April and arrived in Galesburg at four o'clock in the afternoon on 25 April. This run, on the Santa Fe Railroad, was remarkable when one considers that sufficient stops had to be made to feed and water the animals and feed the people and that there were division points for changing railroad crews. The 24-hour men were unable to keep ahead of the circus train as it was running as fast as the passenger trains. These agents were trying to reach advance towns to purchase provisions for the circus train. The Santa Fe out-ran the proposed schedule for reaching Galesburg by three days.

Al G. Barnes Circus on the lot at Sterling, Illinois, July 4, 1924. Note the Three Oval Mirror tableau in rear of the open air menagerie. The two tuskers are Barney and Vance. Walker Morris photo in the Joe Bradbury Collection.

The Al G. Barnes' Circus reopened its season at Galesburg on the 26th of April, a Saturday, and then played a whole week of stands in Illinois. The next week was spent entirely in Indiana. The Monday after this Sunday run opened a week of Ohio dates, with some difficulties occurring during the six days. Findlay and Fostoria were good stands, but on Wednesday at Loraine heavy rains hit the show during the night performance and it was impossible to get the wagons off the lot the next morning. This resulted in a late arrival at Barberton. The circus train did not arrive in that city until afternoon. It did not unload but spent several hours feeding and watering the livestock. The Barnes' show usually played Akron, but since two circuses had already been there and a third was scheduled within weeks, the show scheduled Barberton, located a few miles south of the rubber center. It left Barberton at midnight and arrived at Massillon on time. Here a fire of undetermined origin gutted the privilege car during the afternoon performance. The car was detached from the train to prevent further loss. It was taken along when the show train left that night, with workers

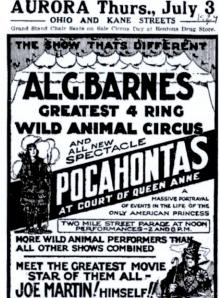
No. 182, Cornelia and Her Jewels Tableau, with sideshow band in the final AI G. Barnes street parade, Denver, Colorado, July 14, 1924. Walker Morris photo in the Joe Bradbury Collection.



still trying to complete the repairs. Wooster and Lima completed the week successfully.

After playing Fort Wayne, Indiana, the following Monday, the show went to Michigan for ten stands, with five of these in Detroit or its immediate vicinity. It then moved to Chicago environs for a few days. The Barnes' advertising car billed Elgin, Illinois, during the Michigan tour and it was announced that after this stand in that city, 3 June, the show would change its route. Instead of moving further east, the management had decided to go northwest into Wisconsin and Minnesota.

The Barnes' Circus encountered cold and cloudy weather with some rain before the evening performance started at Monroe, Michigan, 22 May. The tents were about two-thirds full for the afternoon show but were packed at night. The Barnes' show played Detroit on May 23–27 to fair busi-



World's Largest Circus

Parade at 11 A. M

The 1924 Barnes newspaper ads featured the spec "Pocahontas," and Joe Martin the chimp. Pfening Archives.

ness in very inclement weather. A review of the show in The Detriot News mentioned that Al G. had entertained 250 children at the matinee on the 23rd. The newspaper and the children of Detroit were saving money in order to purchase a baby elephant for the Belle Isle Zoo. Michigan's poet laureate, Edgar Guest, visited the show in the city. The News praised the cleanliness and excellent condition of the circus animals and also stated that "the show doesn't take on the conventional aspect of the circus. In place of the grand march, Mr. Barnes substituted something that combines history with pageantry and music." This, it was said, was the first circus review that The Detroit News had published in many years.

Milwaukee, Wisconsin, was a two-day stand on 7-8 June, and after playing La Crosse the next day, the show moved into

Al G. Barnes elephants and the Atlas and Neptune steam calliope in the final street parade at Denver, Colorado, July 14, 1924. Tuskers Barney and Vance lead the line of elephants. The steamer is being pulled by a four-elephant hitch. Note in the store windows in rear of the lead animal, opposition billing paper for the John Robinson Circus scheduled to play Denver on August 4-5, 1924. Walker Morris photo in the Joe Bradbury Collection.

Minnesota for seven days. During this time it played St. Paul for one day and Minneapolis for two days. Red Wing and Winona followed and then the circus returned to Wisconsin for 13 stands. Unsatisfactory industrial conditions and agricultural problems created light business in the Wisconsin towns, but the night performances drew better than the poor attendance at the matinees. Five camels arrived on the show at Wausau, Wisconsin, 20 June.

Concluding the Wisconsin dates at Beloit on 2 July, the Barnes' show arrived in Aurora, Illinois, the next day too late to parade. Afternoon business was poor but was



Barnes-Sells Floto with Ringling-Barnum Features put on a special parade on Labor Day, but the regularly scheduled daily Grand Free Street Parade was now a thing of the past." One further comment about the Denver stand-photos were received from Palms, California, showing two new giraffes and black panthers recently received at the zoo.

Following the Denver stand the circus played Fort Collins and then went into Wy-



Flag team driven by Jack McAfee, dressed as Uncle Sam, on the Al G. Barnes lot, season of 1924. This team, along with other valuable horses, perished in the tragic stock car fire. Walker Morris photo in the Joe Bradbury Collec-

satisfactory at night. Opposition in this city consisted of the Elk's circus scheduled for the next week and the heavy billing of the Ringling-Barnum circus, which was to arrive on 21 July. The next two days were in Sterling, Illinois, and Clinton, Iowa.

After Clinton the show jumped across Iowa to Council Bluffs on a Sunday run, 6 July. It was a distance of over 300 miles. Following that date in Iowa the Barnes' show made four towns in Nebraska, which took it across the state, and completed the week at Sterling, Colorado. From this point the circus moved to Denver for a two-day stand.

"July 14, 1924, at Denver was a milestone for the show," states Joe Bradbury, "as the final street parade of the Al G. Barnes' Circus was given. This move made Barnes the first major circus to abandon the street parade after Ringling-Barnum had done so following the 1920 season. No doubt in the years that followed the Barnes' show did put on special parades for certain occasions. In 1938 the Al G. oming for five days and Montana for six towns. The last stand in Montana was at Plains on 27 July and from that place the circus moved to Spokane, Washington, where it received two packed houses. At last the Al G. Barnes' Circus had returned to its West Coast route, normally played in the spring, and originally scheduled for the early months of 1924.

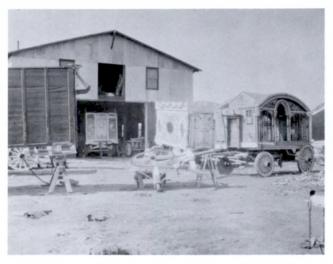
There was an interesting report from Walla Walla, Washington, in mid-July. A

Al G. Barnes Circus on the lot at Red Wing, Minnesota, June 16, 1924. Walker Morris photo in the Joe Bradbury Colleclocal resident, perhaps ex-circus, greeted C.S. "Dusty" Rhodes, advance courier of the Al G. Barnes' Circus, on 7 July. The local man was told that Jack Glines, with the 70-foot bill bar, would be along the following week. Upon arrival, the 20 men of the advance car posted some 6,000 sheets of paper in the city and surrounding countryside. Two weeks ahead of the circus came "Skinny" Dawson, press agent, and, after his departure, Austin King and Al Beeman, checkers on the advertising campaign, showed up. They were four days ahead of the show. Finally, on the 31st of July, the big show pulled into Walla Walla and played to big crowds at both performances

The Barnes' show played Pasco and Yakima en route to its big three-day stand in Seattle on the 4th, 5th, and 6th of August. On the second night, the show gave two performances in addition to a good attendance at the matinee. The first night show was witnessed by 15,000 people. It finished at ten o'clock and the overflow crowd of 2.000 was accommodated by a program that lasted until midnight. Ethel Chase, rider in the steeple chase, was injured at this night stand when her horse dumped

The week after the three days in Seattle was finished with a trio of stands in the same area and the week following was also spent in the state. After the Saturday night performance at Kelso, the show train wound its way through the mountains to Oregon, where it played a week of stands in the Willamette Valley before turning back north for two days at Portland. Wonderful business greeted the show in Oregon, and Portland gave the circus overflow crowds







Al G. Barnes winterquarters, Palms, California, February 20, 1924. Wagons undergoing repair at the shop building are in foreground, the Three Oval Mirror tableau, one of the ex-John Robinson cottage cages, a baggage wagon, and another cage at far right. Inside the building entrance can be seen No. 181, Elephant Tableau. Photo by Charles Puck.

at all four performances. The Barnes' Circus had not played its familiar Northwest territory since the spring of 1922, and this probably accounted for the enormous business.

From Portland the circus headed east again, playing towns along the Columbia River and eastern Oregon. It then went into Idaho for five dates, entered Wyoming to play Kemmerer, and then returned to Idaho for three more stands. Then, still playing a rather erratic route, it went back to Montana again for eight more towns. It left the last city in that state on 16 September and gave performances at Sandpoint, Idaho, and Wenatchee, Washington. From this last city it jumped 428 miles to Albany, Oregon, from which point it began its traditional tour among the coast towns of California.

During this swing through territory that had been partially played in July, Rex de Rosselli reported that a herd of elks, 20 bison, some bears, and several blooded horses had been received. These animals were to be retained by the show, shipped to the zoo in Palms, or sent to the Al G. Barnes' ranch in Nevada. Word was also received that six lion cubs had been born at the zoo, while three more were born on the show. Louis Roth received a great deal of recognition as he worked 23 lionesses in the closing number. Also, during this period R.E. (High Bill) Madsen, the giant, had taken on the new duty of lecturer in the side-show.

The Barnes' show entered California on 26 September to play Montague and then crossed the mountains to make its usual stand at Klamath Falls in Oregon. From that city it re-entered the Golden State to play Sisson, Redding, and Chico. It was on the move from Chico to Willows that a ter-

rible tragedy occurred in the car containing the ballet equines. Somehow the car caught fire during the move and was first noticed as the circus train was passing through the village of Gimbal. Members of the train crew were unable to reach the flaming car and it was decided to proceed to the small town of Nord, the nearest place where the car could be switched. Running through the night with the doomed car smoking and flaming, the show at last reached Nord, where the ill-fated car was at last cut loose from the train. Out of the 66 ballet horses carried by the show, only 30 of the world's foremost dancing horses were still alive. The horses were valued at \$100,000.

After the tragedy of 1 October the show made five California towns with a reduced number of horse acts, and then pulled into San Francisco to play seven days at the Twelfth and Market street lot. Three new animal acts were added here. They came from acts in training at the show's winter quarters. The big dancing horse number was reduced to 28 animals.

There were good crowds in attendance in San Francisco, reported Austin King, and an extra morning performance was given for orphan children and newsboys on 11 October. King broadcast a tale concerning

Al G. Barnes stock car on fire during run from Chico to Willows, California, September 30-October 1, 1924. Walker Morris photo in the Joe Bradbury Collection. Polar bear act worked by Bert Nelson on Al G. Barnes Circus, 1924-25. There were two other bears in the act, making a total of six, but the camera was held inside the cage and each time the flash powder went off it scared them and they would not hold their seats. Bert Nelson photo in the Joe Bradbury Collection.

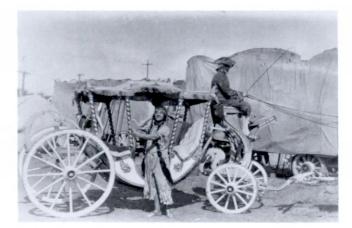
the orang-utang, "Joe Martin," using the facilities owned by Hale Bros.' KPO. The show also used advertisements printed in French, Italian, Chinese and Japanese in the daily papers.

Forty-eight days of performances in California remained as the circus left San Francisco on the night of 12 October. Three of these made up the Oakland stand on 17-19 October. By playing most of the cities and towns in the Bay area, the show delayed its return to the southern part of the state until after the first of November. It was in Salinas, King City and San Luis Obispo early in the month. From its tour of southern Oregon-beginning 22 September-the Al G. Barnes' Circus never missed a day of performances until it closed at Wilmington, California, on 29 November. This included Sunday shows. All were one-day stands, except the seven days in San Francisco, three in Oakland, and two in San Diego.

There had been several reports in the preceding few years regarding the sale of the Al G. Barnes' Circus and another fol-







Al G. Barnes baggage stock just unloaded from the stock cars, season of 1924. Walker Morris photo in the Joe Bradbury Collection.

lowed at the end of October. However, Barnes and Mugivan and Bowers all denied reports that the show had been sold to the American Circus Corporation at this time.

The route book for 1924 indicated that the Barnes' Circus had traveled 17,223 miles during the tour. There were several long rail jumps during the year, of which the one from Palms to Galesburg was the longest. The May reports in the Billboard indicated that this one haul covered 2,058 miles; the route book lists 2,071 miles. The Sunday run from Clinton, Iowa, to Council Bluffs included 349 miles, while the run from Wenatchee, Washington, to Albany, Oregon, (also on a Sunday) covered 428 miles. There were three hauls of over 200 miles-from Marshfield, Oregon, to Portland (244 miles); from Kalispell, Montana,

Spec carriage on the Al G. Barnes lot, season of 1924. Marie Baudet Rhodes. shown here, played the lead role in the new spec used for the first time that season, "Pocahontas at the Court of Queen Anne." Walker Morris photo in the Joe Bradbury Collection.

to Sandpoint, Idaho (221 miles); and from Sandpoint to Wenatchee (249 miles). An interesting feature of the route in the Northwest is the record number of rail hauls in the mountain country that exceeded 100 miles in which the show arrived in town on time- a tribute to the efficiency of the railroads in that region.

The circus played 207 matinee performances and 192 at night. It gave one show only on four days and, of course, missed both shows at Barberton, Ohio. According to the route book, 38 women and 25 men performed in each show. All in all, it was a successful season for the circus in spite of toll taken by the foot-and-mouth disease and the terrible fire near Chico, California.

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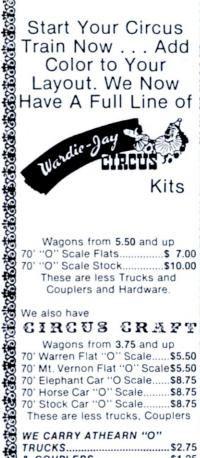
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19TH CENTURY CIRCUS BANDS AND MUSIC

by Robert Kitchen

The Band in the Late 18th Century

When discussing circus music of the nineteenth century one must discuss the general development of music, for in the early part of the century the two were one and the same. When one thinks of military music in the eighteenth century the fife and drum come to mind. They were indeed the most popular form of martial music. The fife and drum provided music that was loud and easy to march to. The band was in existence but was shallow and weak-sounding. It consisted mainly of woodwinds, which played the melody, and natural and simple horns. A band of 1776 lists two clarinets or hautboys (oboes), one-two horns or trumpets, one-two bassoons. The band had no drums. The reed instruments were technically well developed and were relegated the melody parts. The brass instruments were rather crude with no means of controlling the air column. Having neither keys nor valves, they were played entirely with the lips. This enabled them to play only a few notes, much as the bugle of today. This instrumentation for band was to carry into the next century.

Concertos, symphonies, overtures and other instrumental pieces were played by these bands. Some of the musicians also played stringed instruments on which they would solo during the concert. Some music, usually marches, was written especially for these bands. General John Reid, a Scottish musician who served in North America in the 1760s, published a book of marches in 1778. The music was written for two clarinets, hautboys (oboes) or German flutes, two horns and a bassoon. There were at least two bands of music in the American forces during the Revolution.

A gentleman names Josiah Flagg is reputed to be the first American bandmaster. He was associated with the British 64th Regiment Band. In 1773 Flagg formed his own band and played Fanevil Hall in Boston. He and his band soon disappeared into obscurity. It seems that America wasn't ready for band music.

Enter the Circus

The first complete circus performance in America took place in Philadelphia on April 3, 1793. It is unlikely that the performers had any musical accompaniment, since no mention is made of music in the literature of the time.

The first mention anywhere of a band of music at a circus was the circus of Thomas Swann near the battery in New York on September 10, 1794. What the band consisted of is unknown, but it was unlikely to have more than two or three members. Bill Ricketts' Circus first mentions a band in its September 20, 1794, performance. The

exact makeup of this band is also not known, but the name of its leader, a Mr. Young, is.2 The first inkling of what a circus band might consist of came in 1795 when a benefit was held for its musicians. Benefits were a common practice in the early circus as the proceeds from a particular performance went to a designated performer or performers. The proceeds from the April 13 and 14, 1795, performances went to the band on the show-Mr. Collett, the violinist, and Mr. Gauthier, the clarinetist.3 We have to assume that this was the entire band. By 1797 competition began to develop for Ricketts. Mr. Collett appears with the chief rival of Ricketts, Philip Lailson's Circus. Ricketts in the meantime split his troupe into two shows in 1797. While his brother Francis moved south with one unit, John Bill moved north with the other. Leulier, his band director, hired local musicians at each stand. In Montreal, for instance, off duty bandsmen of the 60th regiment (Royal American) were hired.4



Edward (Ned) Kendall was an important figure on early circus bands. He appeared on at least nine shows during the period 1832 to 1858. Courtesy of the Henry Ford Museum, Dearborn, Michigan.

Like all bands of the time the instrumentation of the circus band in the late 18th century was limited to the available instruments. The band of Pepin and Breshard Circus of 1810 consisted of six pieces: bugles, clarinet, violin and bass violin.

The Kent Bugle

In 1810 Joseph Holliday invented the Kent or keyed bugle. This instrument had generally five to seven keys, but some were developed that had more. These keys were built along the sides of the instrument, and were somewhat like those that we see to-day on a saxophone. By opening and closing the keys the length of the air column could be changed, and the instrument could now play a full range of notes. The keyed bugle was now a soprano brass voice for the band and its invention set off a revolution in band music.

The low voice in the band was handled by a low woodwind such as a bassoon or by a serpent or bass horn. The serpent was a long sinuous instrument, whose name aptly described it. It was made of wood and was covered by leather. Holes drilled into the sides of the instrument allowed the player to control the length of the air column and thus play notes. Another low voice in the band was the bass horn. This instrument resembled the bass clarinet of today, but the air column again was controlled by holes drilled into the instrument. The range of these instruments was short and they were unsatisfactory.

In 1817 the ophicleide was invented by one Hilary of Paris. It was a low voice for the band, but it introduced keys to control the air column. This was an improvement over the serpent and bass horn, although both would continue in use. The ophicleide itself did not blend well with the other instruments and its use was shortlived. The movement to brass instruments had begun.

Circus bands had also grown. The 1835 Olympic Circus had a band conducted by Mr. Tallis which consisted of two clarinets, one Kent bugle, one trumpet (no keys or valves), bass horn, one trombone, one flute, one French horn (no keys or valves), and a bass drum. The 1836 American Arena Company had a band of three B-flat clarinets, one bugle, two horns, two trombones, one serpent, cymbals and drums. The musicians who played these instruments were always professionals. There were no casual players at this time. The instruments were difficult to play and required much training and practice.

The only music available at this time would include what we today would consider classical music, as well as airs, folksongs, and marches. Most music was produced as a piano piece or on a three or four staff system with all parts in concert pitch and no instrumentation indicated. Since the instrumentation of bands varied so much it was up to the bandmaster to make his own arrangement based on the instruments with which he had to work.

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In 1833 J.R. and W. Howe Jr. & Co.'s New York Menagerie had a thirteen-member band, and gave it top billing in their advertising. From the Northampton Whig. Easton, Pa., of October 22, 1833. Pfening Archives.

The Brass Band Era

There were several individuals in the eighteenth century who were very influential in the development of band music. Among them were the Dodworths, father and sons. In 1834, at the insistence of Allan Dodworth, the band which would later bear his name became all brass. The sound seemed to catch on and the brass band craze was on. In 1835 the Boston Band became all brass and known as the Boston Brass Band. It became very famous under its leader, Ned Kendall. By 1835 he had already had considerable circus experience. In 1832 and 1833 he traveled with the New England Caravan. In 1834 he was with Tufts and Waring and Co., and in 1835 he was with the Palmer Circus. The next time Kendall hit the tanbark trail he was leading an all brass band. It was he who took the brass band craze to the circus. The 1830s were a popular period for bands, and Kendall's name became a household word. His playing of the keyed bugle became legendary and his services were widely sought. Kendall and his musicians played concert halls in the winter and the traveling shows in the summer. The circus and menagerie owners were quick to see the popularity of Kendall and other musicians and employed them whenever they could. Like the rock singers of today, Kendall was very popular and his Kent bugle played music that became synonimous with him: Winslow Blues, Wood Up Quickstep, Wrecker's Daughter, and Moneymusk. This music could be heard in the concert halls in winter and the circus tent in the summer.

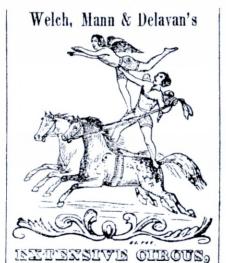
In the summer of 1837 Kendall and the Boston Brass Band appeared with Purdy, Welch Macomber & Co. The ad is one of the first illustrations of a circus band and tells much about its composition and the music it played. The ad states:

'The forgoing cut represents the manner in which the fifteen musicians preced the caravans, and take the lead on entering into places of exhibition. They are mounted on trained horses, and part of them occupy seats in the howdah on the elephants back. The band is furnished with a great variety of popular music, from the most eminent composers, consisting of overtures, potporis, cavitinas, marches, waltzes, quick steps and a choice selection of sacred music, from approved authors, all of which is expressly arranged and dedicated to E. Kendall's Brass Band, the musical talent of which is not surpassed in any country. These performances alone are worth more than double the price of admission, and afford the highest gratification."

The short paragraph above tells us much about this band. Of special interest is the listing of music, which includes a reference to sacred music, an effort to appeal to those who objected to circuses and related entertainments. The band itself consisted of fifteen pieces: two trombones, two base horns, two french horns, two post horns or simple trumpets, four keyed bugles. These were the horse-mounted players. The percussion section was in the howdah on the elephant's back. They appear to be a bass drum, cymbals and a Turkish Cresent or Jingling Johnny. The latter was an assortment of bells and jingles played by either shaking the pole, or in the case of some, by moving a sleeve up and down. It was used to assist in keeping the marching rhythm.

Another Dodworth innovation was the introducation of rear-facing bells on brass instruments. Introduced in 1841-1842, the rear-facing bells were designed for marching, the sound being carried back to the troupes following behind. This form of instruments was to be very popular just before and during the Civil War. Concerts given by such bands would have the conductor face the audience and the bandsmen sit with their backs to it. The bells of the instruments would then be facing the audience. This type of horn did carry over to some circuses. A photo of the John Parson's band on the John Stowe Circus shows at least one over-the-shoulder horn.

The first half of the nineteenth century had a motley array of brass instruments. These included natural horns, keyed bugles, trombones, serpents, bass horns, ophicleides and several other instruments.



ATE of the Park Theatre, New York, and the National Theatre, Philada., consisting of finest selection of highly trained Arabian horses and the largest and most popular company of Equestrians in the United States.

The celebrated New York Brass Band, will precede the cavalcade of Equestrians on entering the Town, in a magnificent carriage, drawn by eight splendid cream horses. For full particulars see large bills at the principal hotels.

Will be exhibited in Towards, on SATUR-DAY, MAY 17th, 1845. Doors open at 11 o'clock; performance to commence at 2, P. M. Admittance, 25 cents, only.

G. DAVENPORT, Agent. N.B. The above will be at LeRaysville on 16th May, at Skinner's Eddy, May 15.

The New York Brass Band headed up Welch, Mann and Delavan's parade in 1845. From the Bradford Reporter (Bradford, Pa.) of May 14, 1845. Pfening Archives.

There was little standardization. The Dodworths did make some attempt to standardize bands by the 1840s. In 1843 Adolph Sax of Belgium united all of the horns into one family. Valves were now available which made instruments easier to play. Sax developed a family of valved horns. They had an upright bell with a mouthpiece at the lower end of the bell at the upper part of the horn. These were similar to the alto and baritone horns of today. The family of horns included the alto, baritone, soprano, tenor, bass and contrabass. They were called Sax horns after their inventor.

The circus picked up on the brass band craze of the 1840s. Some shows advertising brass bands were the 1846 Rockwell and Stone's (New York Brass Band); 1846 Grand Menagerie (Shelton's American Brass Band); Sands, Quick and Co. (New York Bugle Band); 1856 Jim Myer's Great Show (Choates Brass Band); and Spaulding and Rogers (Kendall's Brass Band).

The keyed bugle, which had led the change in the development of band music, was in itself being replaced by the easierto-play cornet. The invention of the valve led to the development of the cornet. It was just a matter of time before the keyed



Kendall and the Boston Brass band were a feature on the Purdy, Welch, Macomber & Co. Menagerie in 1837. Pfening Archives.

bugle would disappear. The famous Gilmore-Kendall "contest" of 1856 pretty much marked the end of the popularity of the keyed bugle.

One aspect of the brass band era was the development of cornet or silver cornet bands. These bands were popular from the mid-1850s onward. The cornet replaced the keyed bugle and the sax horns had given the band a complete choir of horns in all ranges. These horns all had conical bores (as opposed to straight bores). They produced a more mellow sound. The 1857 Sands, Nathan and Co. used Otto Horn's Cornet Band. In 1860 G.K. Goodwin and Co. used Silloway's Silver Cornet Band. Again the circus was aware of what was popular and brought these features to the American public.

By the 1850s there developed a competition between circuses as far as bands were concerned. Most prominently advertised their musical aggregations as well as their performers. The most prominent of these

musical groups was of course Ned Kendall's band, Kendall himself being the draw.

Another musician whose popularity was used by the circus was the cornetist Tom Canham. Canham was brought over from England expressly to play for a circus. Canham was with Spaulding and Rogers in 1856, Dan Rice in 1857-1859 and later with the John Robinson show for several seasons. Canham is said to have originated the practice of playing with one hand and leading the band with the other. This was something that Kendall could not do as the keyed bugle required two hands to play. Canham's Dan Rice Band of 1857-1859 included one E-flat bugle, two B-flat cornets, one E-flat cornet, two E-flat clarinets, two trombones, one euphonium, two E-flat alto horns, one tuba, and a snare and bass drum, for a total of fourteen pieces.6 This was probably average for a show of this

Canham took a young clarinetist named David W. Reeves under his wing. Reeves lived with Canham, taking lessons and playing the concert halls in the winter and in circuses in the summer. He went on to be one of the Civil War's great bandmasters, a composer, and leader of the famous American Band of Providence, Rhode Island.

The Music

For the first half of the nineteenth century little music written for bands included the instrumentation. In 1853, Firth, Pond and Co. of New York City began publishing *The Brass Band Journal*. It contained quicksteps, marches, schottishes, waltzes, and national airs, and was the earliest music printed in America that included parts for sax horns. The music was in

By the 1870s circus bands featured both brass and reed instruments. Note the over-the-shoulder horns on right. This New York Circus poster dates from 1870. Original in Pfening Archives.

THE NEW YORK CIRCUS BRASS AND REED BAND

IN THEIR GORGEOUS UNIFORM OF THE FRENCH IMPERIAL CENT GARDE.



THE NEW YORK CIRCUS. L.B.LENT, DIRECTOR

FROM THE NEW YORK CIRCUS IRON BUILDING IN FOURTEENTH STREET OPPOSITE THE ACADEMY OF MUSIC, NEW YORK,

At LOWELL, MONDAY, MAY 16th, 1870.

GRAND Equestrian Festival.

JAMES M. JUNE & COS Newly Equipped European and American

CIRCUS.

Will perform at HARRISBURG on THURSDAY, August 10th, 1854.



The Stud of Horses is unsurpassed in the country, and the proprietors have secured the services (from the various European and Eastern establishments) of the most talented company of Equestrians, Gymnasts, Athletæ and clowns, which has ever traveled in the West.

To be accompanied by the Celebrated Bugle and String Band of Richard Willis, from New York, who challenges competition.

For list of performers see bills. Doors open at 2 and 7 o'clock, P. M. Admission twenty-five cents.

aug2-2t.

In 1854 the James M. June & Co. Circus advertised the Celebrated Bugle and String Band of Richard Willis. From the Democratic Union, Harrisburg, Pa. of August 2, 1854. Pfening Archives.

pocket size parts that could fit on the lyres of instruments. This made it easier to play an instrument. Amateur bands began to form and the brass band craze continued.

Publisher of the Brass Band Journal was G.W.E. Frederick, of whom little is known. The Journal was published until 1855 and consisted of a total of twenty-four numbers. Most famous of the composers was Stephen Foster, who was under contract to Firth, Pond and Co. Frederick scored some of Foster's tunes without regard to their original intent.7 One speculates that circuses used this source of music. Bands would simply carry the music with them from their winter engagements to the summer circus season. As late as 1847 a Rockwell and Stone program lists as music played marches, galops, scotch medley, polka, waltz, quadrille, French air, a ballad and some original music.

The Gilmore Era

One of the greatest musicians of the century was Patrick Gilmore. By the mid-1850s Gilmore had established himself as a superb cornetist. His performance with Kendall in 1857 attests to that. Gilmore became completely engrossed in the music business, eventually selling instruments, music and generally controlling the band business first in Salem, then in Boston, and finally New York. Gilmore brought discipline to



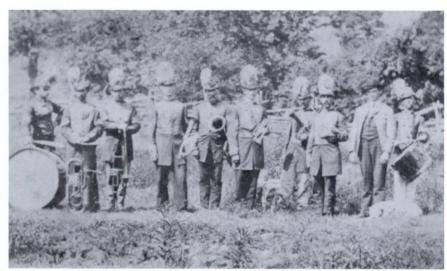
Gorton's Cornet Band was on the Stowe Circus, probably in 1868. Note that three of the musicians have over-theshoulder instruments. Bob Good photo in author's collection.

bands, something which was needed with many in the nineteenth century.

Gilmore began to make changes that affected band music for some time to come. He found himself the leader of a band consisting of all over-the-shoulder instruments, which he saw no use for as he was primarily interested in concert work. These soon disappeared. In 1859 he reintroduced reeds because in order to play the music he preferred he needed a better-balanced band. Back in Gilmore's band were the clarinets, bassoons, flutes, and oboes. In the late 1870s Gilmore introduced a brass reed mix for a large band that is still in use today-thirty-four reeds, twenty-eight brass, and four percussion. The brass band craze was drawing to a close.

The circus responded to these changes. Less was seen of brass bands or silver cornet bands in the advertising. Instead names such as Professor Whittier's Metropolitan Band (1866 George Bailey Circus), or Professor Rosenberg's Opera Band (New York Champs Elysee Circus) are found. The trend in the circus was for bigger and better-balanced bands. Photos show reed players, although the circus still preferred more brass. After all, a good band still had to be loud enough to fill the tent with sound. This was especially true as the size of tents grew.

By the 1880s little is seen of circus advertising containing the names of specific bands. With the longer season circuses no longer hired Silloway's Cornet Band or Otto Horn's Cornet Band. Instead they hired a musical director who hired musicians. It



Rare photograph of the Howes Great London band, ca. 1871 to 1873. Note the lack of reed instruments. Richard W. Flint Collection.

was now Ringling Bros. Band or the Barnum and Bailey Band. Nothing special was attached to the name of the band director.

In the late 1870s Patrick Gilmore introduced the big touring band. He was followed by Sousa, Pryor, Kryl, and others. A new craze was introduced. The circus responded to this by introducing center ring concerts where musicians could play overtures and lighter classics as well as solo. The center ring concert proved popular into the next century. In 1895 the Ringling Circus carried two bands. One was the regular band that played for the performance. The other was the Liberati Band, a very popular organization at the time. This band played only center ring concerts. Here again the circus took advantage of what was popular and made it serve its own ends. At the same time it introduced the masses to better music.

By the 1870s the circus was in its golden age. For the next 50 years it enjoyed a popularity never again equaled. For the first time, in addition to the regular music (i.e., popular tunes, light classics, waltzes, etc.), special music was written for the circus ring.

Sheet music scores for Forepaugh's Grand Zoological March in 1877, W.W. Cole's Grand Zoological March in 1879, and The Seven Elephant March, also 1879, have survived. The latter, from the Sells Bros. Circus, indicates that it was indeed played on the show, but we have no evidence that the other two pieces were actually played in the big show. Later on in this century and into the next, many more pieces were written for the ring.

In summary, it can be said that the circus band developed from the concert bands that were found in most cities. Most often they were the same-the same musicians playing the same music. The circus played an important role in giving these musicians another outlet for their work. The circus was quick to sense what was the popular taste and take advantage of it. By the end of the nineteenth century circus bands began to be entities into themselves. They played their own style music, often written especially for them. It was a new era.

Discography

Contorno, Nicholas-Conductor, Music for the President. 1st Brigade Band, Heritage Music Foundation, Milwaukee, Wisconsin. 1975. Music from the Civil War era played on over-the-shoulder instruments. Some of this music was used on circuses of the time.

Fennel, Frederick-Conductor. American Brass Premiere. Empire Brass Quintet with Members of the National Symphony Orchestra. Sine Qua Non Records, Providence, Rhode Island. 1983. Contains marches, polkas, waltzes, and quicksteps from the mid-nineteenth century, many of which were probably played on circuses of the

Friederich, G.W.E.-Arranger. The American Brass Band Journal 1853. Empire Brass Quintet and Friends. Columbia Records, New York, New York. 1076. Music from the middle of the nineteenth century. First music to include parts for sax horns. Much of this music most probably was used on circuses of the time

 ${\it McRitchie, Greg.-Arranger.} \textit{Jack Daniels Silver Cornet}$ Band. Paramount Records, New York, New York. 1973. Music of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century played on period instruments. Some circuses carried cornet and silver cornet bands of this type.

Schlarbaum, Charles-Conductor. Toby Tyler Circus Concert Band. Global Records, Sarasota, Florida. 1985. Excellent recording containing the Sells Bros. Circus Gallop from 1880, one of the earliest recorded pieces of music written for the circus ring. Other nineteenth century music is also included.

Weaver, James-Conductor. 19th Century Ballroom Music. Smithsonian Social Orchestra and Quadrille Band. Nonsuch Records, New York, New York, 1975, Nineteenth-century music played on nineteenth-century instruments. Contains two pieces associated with Ned Kendall, Moneymusk and Woodup Quickstep. Instruments used include keyed bugles, cornets, ophicleides, and sax horns.

Notes

- 1. George Odell, Annals of the New York Stage, (New York, New York), Vol. 1, p. 368.
- 2. Stuart Thayer, Annals of the American Circus, 1793-1829 (Manchester, Michigan, 1976), p. 7.
- 3. Thayer, op. cit., p. 11.
- 4. Thayer, op. cit., p. 19.
- 5. 1837 ad for the Purdy, Welch, Macomber & Co. Menag-
- 6. Ralph Dudgeon, The Keyed Bugle, Its History, Literature, and Technique (Ann Arbor, Michigan, University Microfilms, 1980), p. 90.
- 7. American Brass Band Journal. Recording-Liner notes (New York, New York, Columbia Records, 1976)

Scalps, Bullets, and Two Wild Bills:

An Examination of the Treatment of the American Indian in Wild West Shows

by Sarah Blackstone

The American Indian played a large role in the success of the Wild West shows of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Indians toured all over America and through Europe, Canada and Australia with such men as Buffalo Bill Cody, Doc W.F. Carver, and Pawnee Bill. The Indians' relationships with their white bosses and white audiences illustrate the complex admiration-aversion cycle of Indian-white relations.

Our society has a divided attitude toward the American Indian, who usually is depicted either as a noble savage or as a barbarian. Such heroic portrayals of the Indian as appear in the play Metamora or in the book The Light in the Forest have as little to do with real Indian life as do the portrayals of savage barbarians in modern Western movies and the dime novel. The Indians' view of white society is equally divided. While they now live peacefully in urban areas and on reservation lands, they welcome few white people into tribal affairs or private lives.

Perhaps some of these divided feelings come out of the complex relationships formed among Indians and both frontiersmen and soldiers during the settling of the West. Men on both sides developed a great respect and admiration for men on the other side. Through years of fighting, captivity, and unrest, each side learned who among the enemy could be trusted to keep his word. So while the two sides fought to win or preserve the land for their families and their herds, grudging friendships and confused loyalties emerged.

The society at large learned about the Indian through stories, dramas, and newspaper accounts of the winning of the West featuring these frontiersmen and soldiers as actors and heroes. The ambivalent attitude toward the Indian among the various authors, showmen, and reporters (and even within certain individual personalities) was communicated to the American public through the literature and popular entertainment of the time. It continues to be passed on through rodeos, television, and the movies.

Indian society learned about the whites in a similar manner. Tales of battles, encounters, treaties, and friendships with the whites were spread by the individuals involved among their tribes and neighboring groups. Whatever impression (good or bad) the whites left on the tale-telling individual was communicated to the Indian society.

This admiration-aversion cycle reached its peak perhaps toward the end of the nineteenth century when the West had been "won," but the Indians had not yet



Geronimo was a feature on the Pawnee Bill Wild West. Note the caption reading "The worst Indian that ever lived." Circus World Museum Collection.

accepted the white man's insistence that they adopt reservation life. It was during this time that such men as Col. William Cody, Gordon Lillie (Pawnee Bill), and Doc W.F. Carver began their Wild West shows. For the next thirty years members of various Indian tribes toured the United States and foreign lands, learning about the white man's world and participating in events that taught the white man little about actual Indian life.

The men who conceived and created the Wild Wests were authentic frontiersmen, and they wished the world to see a way of life that was rapidly disappearing. Their shows became full-blown propaganda—glorifying the process of the winning of the American West, and declaring to the world that America had won a resounding victory in its efforts to subdue the wilderness. These shows were seen by millions of people in America and abroad during their peak years from 1883 to 1913.

One of the peculiarities of the early Wild Wests was their dedication to authenticity. Showmen recruited their performers from ranches, reservations, and mining towns, and from jails, and hideouts, and foreign retreats. Some of these people had done work on the stage as melodrama heroes and villains, but most were new to the

world of show business. The props and livestock also were authentic. Real elk and bison were rounded up, as were unbroken range horses. Teepees were bought, stages purchased from defunct freight companies, and covered wagons were recovered from barns and pastures where they had been left when the great trans-continental crossing was completed.

The authentic props and people were arranged in shows that became increasingly theatrical, patriotic, and extravagant. (As the years passed, battle sequences from the latest war were added, complete with veterans, augmented by Indians filling in for such enemies as the Chinese.) In the midst of all this, hundreds of American Indians were introduced to the white man's world—sometimes to their benefit, but often to their detriment.

The managers and owners of the Wild Wests wanted Indians in their shows for various reasons. Most of the events being depicted in these shows required Indian characters (Indians were, after all, a vital part of frontier life). The Indians could have been played by white men, a solution adopted by Hollywood, and much trouble and expense could have been avoided. However, the Indians were one of the main attractions in the shows. Nothing promised quite the thrill of seeing the "Indian who killed Custer." Even the Bureau of Indian Affairs recognized that, "It is not unusual on celebration occasions in the West, for Indians to be brought to promi-



nent cities as a 'drawing card' to give additional zest to the occasion." Without the Indians the Wild Wests would not have been as successful. They attracted huge audiences of curious people (hence great amounts of money), and provided wonderful publicity material (both free press and planned campaigns). All this may not have been recognized during the first seasons, and real Indians were probably included as a part of the push for authenticity. But it took almost no time at all for managers and publicity people to realize that any expense or trouble was worthwhile to keep real Indians in the show.

Also, there was a concerted effort to get troublemakers and Indian leaders off the reservations, where they were thought to be stirring up trouble and aggravating feelings of discontent among other Indians. The Wild Wests provided an easy solution to the need for alternate environments for these Indians. Geronimo was asked to attend the St. Louis exhibition. Sitting Bull was "sold" to the highest bidder for his first tour. Chief Joseph first came to Washington to ride in the dedication parade for Grant's tomb, and ended up appearing in an exposition that was showing there. Also, there were about thirty Indians who were considered hostiles, captured at Wounded Knee, who were forced to tour

One of the classic publicity photos of all time; Buffalo Bill and the Indians in the canals of Venice, ca. 1890. Pfening Archives.

with Buffalo Bill. The managers clothed, fed, and for the most part kept these Indians under control (the 101 Ranch never left their Indians without guards, for instance), and the government had little or no additional responsibility. It was hoped that these Indians would return to the reservations, and counsel peace and acceptance. Some people, notably Helen Wetmore, felt this effort was successful. In TheLast of the Great Scouts, she claims:

The Wild West, ... had quietly worked as an important educational influence in the minds of the Indians connected with the exhibition. They had seen for themselves the wonders of the world's civilization; they realized how futile were the efforts of the children of the plains to stem the resistless tide of progress flowing Westward.

There were others, however, who did not agree with this estimate. Daniel Dor-

Indians performing a tribal dance as part of the Buffalo Bill-Pawnee Bill Wild West, ca. 1910. Pfening Archives.



chester of the Bureau of Indian Affairs thought that the Indians were "rendered utterly unfit to again associate with the reservations" by their work in the Wild West shows, adding that "the excited, spectacular life of the shows, disinclines them to settle down to labor, and dooms them to the life of vagabonds. ..."3 In his biography of Cody, Don Russell points out that.

The prisoners [from Wounded Knee] would learn much about the white man's world before they returned home and they would live better lives than they had on the reservation, but perhaps they would not be much reformed, for they were hired to return to the old Indian ways the Ghost Dance cult had advocated.4

A few of the managers, notably Buffalo Bill and Pawnee Bill, also wished to give the Indians a chance at a better life than was offered on the reservations. They paid a regular wage, fed the Indians well, and most importantly let them relive moments of glory and re-enact some of their old customs. Whatever the Indians' reaction to the white man's world-awe, or disgust, or both—it is probable that they returned to their homes even less satisfied with the option of spending the rest of their lives on reservations.

The shows were carefully rehearsed to depict many features of frontier life. Standard events included an attack on a stagecoach, Cowboy Fun (trick roping, riding, bronc busting, and steer roping), many exhibitions of shooting skill by men and women, a cowboy band, and some type of Indian village. The order of events was determined at least in part by the need to prepare the audience and the horses for the excessive gunfire needed in the big battles. The shows were structured to get more violent as the performance progressed.

Within this structure the Indians participated in many events. There were the relatively peaceful events such as horseback races, foot races, and the Indian village where the Indians lived when the show was playing one-night stands, and spent their non-sleeping hours even when quartered elsewhere during long runs. These "peaceful" events sometimes included individual appearances by famous chiefs or warriors. Sitting Bull, for instance, simply sat on his horse and allowed people to boo and hiss at

The more violent events included such things as a "Cremation Ceremony by Mohave Indians," a battle between rival tribes, and attacks on wagon trains and settlers' cabins. For Buffalo Bill's show during 1883, one of the Indians helped Cody re-enact his supposed hand-to-hand combat with Yellow Hair. This event culminated in Cody's "killing" the brave and 'scalping" him.

Each show contained several large cowboy-Indian battles. There was usually an attack on the Pony Express rider, the attack on the stagecoach (which usually held three or four of the most impressive dignitaries attending the show that day), and the re-enactment of a famous battle such

as Custer's Last Stand, Summit Springs, or the Mountain Meadows Massacre. The Indians either lost these battles and were chased from the arena by triumphant cowboys, or when historical accuracy demanded that they win, the audiences' sympathy was directed to the poor, slaughtered white men.

When sideshows were added in 1889, it became popular to exhibit "squaw" men and their families, Indian "princesses," and Indian babies as oddities. Luther Standing Bear's wife and child were being shown less than twenty-four hours after the birth. Another popular attraction in these sideshows was children who had survived various Indian massacres. This exhibit was given a new twist by Cody, who exhibited an Indian child found on the battlefield at Wounded Knee.

The structure of the shows gives a clear view of the divided attitudes about the Indian. In the village and while running races or dancing "traditional" dances, the Indian was shown as a noble savage—different, primitive, but basically non-threatening. But during the more violent events he was depicted as a blood-thirsty barbarian—screaming, shooting, and better off vanquished or dead.

It could be argued that the Indians did not have to subject themselves to all this, and had the option of staying home. In most cases this was true, but there was little to hold anyone on the reservations, and the shows offered money and excitement. The Indians saw the shows as a way to keep from starving and a way to keep their families clothed, fed, and warm.

Many Indians agreed to tour to learn more about the white man, and perhaps help their people. This reaction varied from He Crow's saying, "he wanted to see the lands where the palefaces originally came from," to Black Elk's greater need: "Maybe if I could see the great world of the Wasichu, I could understand how to bring the sacred hoop together and make the tree bloom again at the center of it."

Sitting Bull wished to see the President of the United States. He had been promised this in 1884 by Col. Allen, who took Sitting Bull on his first tour. Allen ended up "carting the chief around for exhibition purposes, advertising him as 'the slayer of General Custer,' and interpreting the old man's friendly remarks as a lurid account of the Battle of the Little Big Horn." It was not until 1885, the summer Sitting Bull toured with Cody, that the chief got his wish to meet the President.

It is not clear why Chief Joseph chose to appear in several different expositions, as he was not given to explaining himself. But as he sought out involvement (both in an exposition on his first visit to New York, and later in Cummin's Indian Congress and Life of the Plains), he may have actually enjoyed these chances to show off.

The presence of Geronimo at the St. Louis Exhibition was requested by the government. He did not wish to attend, but after assurances that he would be safe and that the President had approved the venture, he decided to go. He was guarded



Show business Indians often set up their teepees on the lot. Photo taken on either Buffalo Bill or Buffalo Bill-Pawnee Bill. John Polacsek Collection.

wherever he went and spent his time giving roping demonstrations in the Wild West show and signing autographs. He also was brought to the Miller Ranch under guard when he appeared in their 101 Ranch show.

In 1894 the Bureau of Indian Affairs set up guidelines for using Indians for exhibition purposes. These required that a bond be posted for the safe return of the Indians (usually \$10,000 for 100 Indians, although this price was applied to as few as thirty Indians), that Indians be returned to their reservations by a set time, that Indians be taken only from approved reservations, that an approved interpreter be appointed to care for the Indians, that a salary and traveling expenses be paid, that food and clothing be provided and that medicine and medical attention be provided when needed. Also, managers were to "protect them from all immoral influences and surround-

In this 1908 lithograph Indians attacked the Deadwood stage. This was one of the classic turns from the Bill show. Circus World Museum Collection.

The application of these guidelines was haphazard at best. Bonds were posted, and most of the Indians were returned to their reservations on schedule, but managers tended to receive permission to remove Indians from one reservation while actually recruiting them from another.

The interpreters were appointed to communicate all the details of show life to the Indians. These details included travel arrangements, housing arrangements, times and locations of rehearsals and performances, money transactions, etc., and to communicate any Indian grievances to the management. Sometimes white men filled these positions (Gordon Lillie began his show business career on Sells Bros. Circus this way), but more often Indians interpreted for their people. Luther Standing Bear, for example, was deeply concerned for his people and felt his job as an interpreter was a great responsibility. He reflected on the dangers to his people posed by the Wild Wests:

In all my experience in show business I have met many Indians of various tribes, as well as many interpreters, and to me it did not seem right for Indians who cannot understand a word of the English language to leave the reservation to engage in show business. They are certain to meet with some abuse or



mistreatment unless they have an interpreter who is "right on the job" and who will watch out for their interests 8

The pay was reasonable for the more famous chiefs (up to \$75 a month plus picture and autograph sales), but below the average wage of \$20 a month for most of the others. Twenty-five dollars a month was the standard figure for each brave, squaw, or child.

Travel, though paid for by the managers, was very hard on the Indians. Either they were put in railroad cars that were stuffy and noisy, or put in the steerage of boats to cross the Atlantic. The misery of this experience was amplified by the fact that the Indians all knew of the legend that "if a Red Indian attempted to cross the ocean he would be stricken with an illness, his flesh would waste from day to day until even the skin dropped from the bones and the skeleton would never find burial." Seasickness must have seemed to prove that this legend was true. The Indians feared all ocean travel, and going around the world did not help their attitude. When Doc Carver returned from Europe and Australia in 1890, the Indians became very agitated when they realized they were approaching the United States from the west when they had sailed from the east. Only with a world globe was Carver able to calm the fears of the Indians.

It is probable that the medical attention received by the Indians was not good at all. as many Indians died on tour, and others were sent home with their health destroyed by diseases such as malaria, influenza, and smallpox. One village was even infected with venereal disease by returning Indians.



There was drinking among the Indians with the shows, and it caused problems on tour. Standing Bear spent much of his time trying to keep the Indians under his care

This 1898 Enquirer bill of the serene Medicine Man depicted him as the "Noble Savage," a popular stereotype of the Indian at the turn of the century. Circus World Museum Collection.

out of drinking establishments. Doc Carver had two Indians taken to court in Australia for having a drunken fight with each other. The only thing that kept them out of jail was the fact that the Australian judge was afraid of the damage they might do and wouldn't accept the responsibility of caring for them.

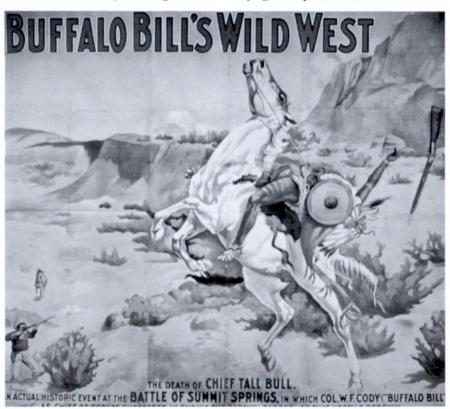
With the big shows the food was good and plentiful, but there were persistent reports of starving and abandoned Indians returning to America in the holds of ships, complaining of their treatment. Black Elk talked of being left behind when Buffalo Bill sailed from England in 1888:

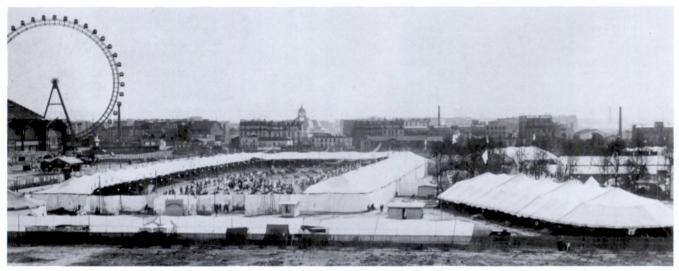
When the show was going to leave very early next morning three other young men and myself got lost in Manchester, and the fire-boat went away without us. We could not talk the Wasichu language and we did not know what to do, so we just roamed around. Afterwhile we found two other Lakotas who had been left behind, and one of these could speak English. He said if we went to London we could get money in another show that was there, and then we could go home. ... The show was called Mexican Joe. It was a small show, but they gave us a dollar a day for being in it.10

Carolyn Foreman, in her study of the experiences of Indians abroad, tells of thirteen Sioux who were taken illegally to Germany from the Rosebud Agency in South Dakota by Giles Pullman, a circus veteran, and his partner William Casper. The United States Embassy in Berlin advised the Secretary of State that "the Indians were likely to be abandoned, were practically prisoners at Duisburg, were not provided for, and were without passports." The Bureau of Indian Affairs went only so far as to advise the Department of State that if the Indians became stranded and were sent home by the United States Ambassador, the Ambassador would be reimbursed out of the Sioux tribal fund.

Indians were allowed to go where they wished, but they spoke only their native languages and were unable to communicate without an interpreter. While Indian babies were often born on tour and were sometimes named for the managers, they were quickly put on display in sideshows to pay their way. Although Indians were often given presents of horses and money at the end of the tour, many died or were abandoned in strange lands. Europe saw one side of Indian life, but they saw it through the conquerors' eyes. Some of what they saw was authentic, but audiences were not encouraged to see these

The popular mythology of the Indian as a barbarian was reflected in the 1908 lithograph of Buffalo Bill killing Chief Tall Bull. Circus World Museum Collection.





people as an advanced civilization, or as a group deserving treatment that was any different from what they were receiving.

Many Indians were homesick for their families. Black Elk remembered, "Then he [Cody] asked me if I wanted to be in the show or if I wanted to go home. I told him I was sick to go home."12 Sell and Weybright assert that, "the Indians with the Wild West never enjoyed Europe. They were homesick and frightened by strange lands." Russell seems to disagree with Sells and Weybright when he says, "Buffalo Bill's Indians were allowed to come and go like other employees of the show, and as Europeans had a great curiosity about the red men, they were treated with great consideration. A few remained in Europe, others wandered off, and some found their way back to America."13 However, one wonders if the Indians remained because they chose to or if, like Black Elk, they were abandoned. And where did these others "wander off" to? The Indians who found their way home usually did so in the hold of some ship, and arrived complaining about their treatment.

While the overall experience of being in the Wild West shows may not have been pleasant for the Indian, there were enjoyable facets to the job. The Indians enjoyed buying foreign goods to take home, and usually were anxious to see the sights in a new city if they were taken as a group on an outing. One group of Iowas made the following list of what impressed them in Paris:

i alis.	
Women leading one little dog	432
Women leading two little dogs	71
Women leading three little dogs	5
Women with big dogs-no string	80
Women carrying little dogs	20
Women with little dogs in carriages	31
and it was not a very good day.14	

Black Elk enjoyed the Indian parts of the show and Standing Bear enjoyed the days he was allowed to play the part of a cowboy. Russell feels it is unclear if Sitting Bull enjoyed his work, but claims, "he liked being introduced to strangers and was unhappy when not given attention." Collings and England seem sure that Geronimo en-

Buffalo Bill Wild West in Paris, 1905. The show's Indians were a sensation in Europe. Pfening Archives.

joyed his part in the Miller 101 show, saying, "he bowed and smiled and enjoyed immensely the attention from the mighty throng of people as he passed around the arena."

Though few of the Indians toured more than one season, a handful of performers stayed with the Wild Wests from their first tour until their deaths. The rest toured a season or two, and returned to the reservations tired, often sick, and bewildered by their experiences.

The Indians continued to tour principally because they could make a better living performing in the Wild Wests than they could on the reservation. Young men were the individuals most often recruited, and the prospect of a life spent touring and play-acting was an exciting alternative to

William F. Cody was one of the fairest employers of Indians in the outdoor show business. Pfening Archives.



tilling barren land. The tribes on the reservations that experienced the most recruiting pressure (those in South Dakota, especially the Rosebud) soon learned which managers treated their people the most fairly, and young people were encouraged to tour only with these shows.

In 1890 the New York Herald raised questions about the treatment of White Hand, an Indian who had returned to New York with several other Indians, after running away from a Wild West. Accusations of cruelty were leveled at Col. Cody, probably the most fair and careful manager of all. He cleared himself by having German embassy officials inspect the Indian camp, and by returning all of his Indians to America. Surely, if the investigation had been extended to other Wild Wests in Europe cases of mistreatment would have been found. It was only nine years later that the Berlin embassy was again dealing with a case of alleged mistreatment of Indians by Giles Pullman and his partner.

Many whites took Indians home with them to get better acquainted. It became fashionable to be seen taking Indians shopping or to restaurants and shows. The Indians were treated almost as pets by some Europeans, although some families achieved genuine friendship with certain Indians. Black Elk was almost adopted by a Parisian family who nursed him through sickness, and saw to it that he was returned to America.

Some people feared the Indians and avoided them off the show grounds. Managers sometimes threatened to turn their Indians loose on unfriendly merchants. This served to deepen the cultural gap that already existed. The Indians also aggravated this situation by getting drunk and taking out their frustrations in wild behavior and outlandish dress. Perhaps it gave them a feeling of strength in a demeaning atmosphere.

For the most part, foreigners loved the Indians and the Wild Wests. They packed exhibition grounds year after year, and Europe proved a fertile place for show business right up to 1924 when the Miller



Brothers' 101 Show traveled there. Australia, South America, South Africa, Mexico, and Canada also did their share in keeping the Wild Wests solvent.

These foreign countries and even Eastern America were given a confused image of the Indian by these hugely successful shows. The managers viewed the Indians as a means to an end, and there is much evidence that even the most fair minded of them exploited the Indians, although the sources exhibit the same division of attitude obvious elsewhere. Some authors feel the noble Indian was demoralized and mistreated, while others feel the savage barbarian was helped in his effort to become civilized. In the arena the managers saw fit to exhibit both the noble savage and the barbaric Indian during each show.

Outside the arena the townspeople saw the Indians in groups as they toured various landmarks, or individually as they visited the bars. Little communication was possible because of the language barrier and any action, by either side, could be badly misunderstood. In the cases where individual whites did try to make contact with individual Indians, real friendships emerged. Only in these instances did any real understanding or appreciation develop.

Indians on the Buffalo Bill Wild West in 1896. Pfening Archives.

Footnotes

- 1. Daniel Dorchester, "62nd Annual Report of the Commisioner of Indian Affairs," in U.S. Congress, House Executive Documents, No. 1, pt. 5, 53rd Congress 2nd Sess., p. 395.
- 2. Helen Cody Wetmore. The Last of the Great Scouts. The Life Story of Col. W.F. Cody (Buffalo Bill) (Chicago: The Duluth Press Publishing Co., 1899), pp. 264-265
- 3. Dorchester, p. 396.
- 4. Don Russell, The Lives and Legends of Buffalo Bill (Norman: Univ. of Oklahoma Press, 1960), p. 369.
- 5. John G. Neihardt, Black Elk Speaks (New York: Pocket Books, 1972), pp. 182-183.
- 6. Stanley Vestal, Sitting Bull, Champion of the Sioux (New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1932), pp. 255-256.
- 7. Don Russell, The Wild West: A History of the Wild West Show (Ft. Worth: Amon Carter Museum of Western Art, 1970), p. 67.
- 8. Luther Standing Bear, My People the Sioux (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1928), p. 261.
- 9. Rupert Croft-Cooke and W.S. Meadmore, Buffalo Bill: The Legend, The Man of Action, the Showman (London: Sidgwick and Jackson Ltd., 1952), p. 185.
- 10. Neihardt, p. 190.
- Carolyn Foreman, Indians Abroad (Norman: Univ. of Oklahoma Press, 1949), p. 205.
- 12. Neihardt, p. 194.
- 13. Russell, Lives and Legends, p. 351.
- 14. Foreman, p. 190.
- 15. Elsworth Collings and Alma Miller England, The 101 Ranch (Norman: Univ. of Oklahoma Press, 1937), p.



This post card was sold on the Buffalo Bill Wild West in England in 1904 and France in 1905, and emphasizes the exotic aspects of Indian life. Pfening Archives.

CHRISTMAS ISSUE ADVERTISING NEEDED

The Christmas special November-December issue of the Bandwagon is traditionally the largest of the year. This is made possible by your help in placing Christmas Greetings ads in the issue. A number of circuses have supported the issue with advertising over the years.

But your help is also needed. Support your magazine with an ad this year. The advertising rates are: Full page, \$85.00; Half page, \$45.00; Quarter page, \$25.00; minimum ad, \$18.00. When possible please send camera-ready copy that can be reproduced without the cost of typesetting.

Searching for information concerning a family circus operated by the HERVEY [HARVEY] Brothers along the Erie Canal in New York State circa 1850 to 1860 and throughout the South, specifically Texas, between 1860 and 1880. The HERVEY [HARVEY] Brothers were JULIAN, AUSTIN, MILTON, VIRGIL, RUEL and EMMET. Unsure if these HERVEYS were involved with the Harvey & Johnson Tent Show [1887] or the Harvey-Golden Circus [1888]. Contact: Robert A. Hervey, 31 Liberty St., Catskill, NY 12414; Tel. 518-943-9417.

SEE THE **GREAT CIRCUSES OF RUSSIA**

MOSCOW-LENINGRAD-KIEV-**TASHKENT** and more January 3-17, 1986

@\$1275.00 all-inclusive pkg.— Airfare (to and from N.Y.), hotels, meals, local transport

Meet Soviet performers, visit circus schools Oct. 31 deadline Contact Lee (301)266-5628

THE BIRTH OF THE BLUES: **EARLY CIRCUS SEATING**

by Stuart Thayer

An inquiry into the development of audience seating in the American circus reflects the premise that rises in researching any mundane subject: its very commonness was beneath contemporary mention. There seem to be no outright descriptions, and because seating was presumably made by show employees, there is no commercial source through which to trace its manufacture. We know when it began to be mentioned in advertising and we have an idea of the extent of its use by various shows, but we don't know what it looked like or how it was assembled.

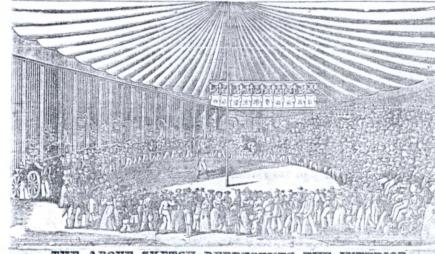
Through the "regressive" method of research, that is, by moving backward in time from the earliest source we have, and assuming that changes occur only as frequently as necessary, we can start with the popular bleacher-type seats of the nineteenth-century shows. Bleachers, so-called because of their resemblance to bleaching boards used by cloth manufacturers, are a fairly simple piece of furniture. They have been essentially the same for a hundred years. We assume that the "tiered seats" referred to in circus ads of the 1830s were quite similar. If they were not, we think there would have been references to the

Given the problem of erecting a rising structure for seating that could be put up and taken down in a short time by unskilled workmen, we would suppose that a mechanic from whatever society one chose would arrive at a solution very near to the well-known bleachers. The precise solution arrived at by the American showman has eluded us. We have clues to the actuality, nevertheless.

One of the first indications is the use of the theatrical terms pit and box by the early tented circus. In the wooden arenas of the infancy of the genre the pit was the area surrounding the ring and had no seats as a rule. The boxes were outside the pit, surrounding and raised above it. The boxes had benches in them. Thus the terms were distinguishable by whether or not there was seating. You paid less in the pit, but you had no seat.

Transferring these terms to the tented circus is a simple matter if one realizes that originally seats were erected on only one side of the ring; the remaining space in the tent was the pit. Seats were reserved for women and children and the ads so warned. We find references to "the ladies' side," meaning the seats.

Several non-contemporary sources tell us that the earliest seating was simply planks placed between boxes, one-level seating. This makes sense, but none of these



Containing 120,000 Square Feet of Canvas. The Performance in the Ring takes place at 2 & 3 o'clock, P. M.

Interior view of Macomber, Welch & Co. menagerie performance used in 1835 poster. At the right, the onlookers are seated, while on the left they are standing. "Dandy Jack," a pony-riding monkey, is performing in the ring. The cages circle the interior of the tent. The bandstand, at the far end, is raised over the entrance. Original poster is in Richard W. Flint Collec-

sources are scholarly enough for us to accept them without question.

J. Purdy Brown, the man who first used a canvas tent for circus performances, advertised in 1826 that he had "covered seats" for the comfort and convenience of his audience. Carpeting or some other material had been laid on the board seats. In no way does it intimate anything other than one-level furniture.

By the same reasoning, we assume that Carley, Purdy & Wright's Menagerie of 1830 promised no more when they said there would be seats for ladies at their show in Marietta, Ohio, on September 18 of that year.

The earliest advertisement we have found that seems to describe tiered seating appears in the Greenville Mountaineer (South Carolina) on 23 July, 1830. It reads:

...seats will be so constructed as to allow every individual a fair opportunity of witnessing the exhibition without crowding or other inconvenience. Front seats reserved for

When J. Purdy Brown played Washington, D.C., in October of 1826 he advertised "covered seats." Pfening Archives.

PAVILION CIRCUS.

M ESSRS. BROWN & BAILY respectfully inform the claizens of Washington, and its vicinity,
that they will give an EQUESTRIAN PERFORMANCE
THIS EVENING, October 28, 1826, on the Green addition ing the Circus

The performance to commence with a GRAND ENTREE Of EIGHT beautiful HORFES. BROWN. Riding master, Mr.

SONG, by Mr. CAMPBELL.

HORSEMANSHIP By Marier BIRDS At.L., but eleven years old. Ringmast ter, Mr. Champhain.

Ground and Lofty Tumbling by the whole Com-

COMIC DANCH OF Tumbling by the whole Company of Posturers.

COMIC DANCH ON STILTS, six feet high, by Mater Frasser.

HORSEMANSHIP by Amster Sergent, on TWO Shetland Ponies, who will jump his Whip, thop, and Carters, and conclude his elegant performance by jumping through a BALLOON, win the Ponies at speed. Clown, dir. Levis. Mr. EATEEY will introduce the Horse ROB ROY, Trained by Hilliself, who will go through his a tonishing

HORSEMANSHIP, by Master, PROSSER, without Sale

The whole to conclude with

STILE VAULTING,

By the whole Company, where Mestrs Hunt, (acknowledged to be the greatest Vaulter in Amurica) Champlein, Myers, Sergant, Prosser, Birdsall, Clark, Levi, Lipman, and

ers. Sergant, Prosser, Birdsall, Clark, Levi, Lipman, and Elion, Lewis.

1. The doors will be opened at ball past 6 o'clock, and performance commence at 7 o'clock.

The Pavilion secures haties and Gentlemen from the weather, and covered seats offer comfort and convenience.

Admittance, box 60 cents, pit 25—children under 12 years of age ball price.

Tickets to be hatfall Wur. Guntog's Drug Stdre, and at the Cleans.

364 - 1000 C

In 1847 Welch and Delayan's Grand National Circus advertised "carpeted seats for the accommodation of three thousand spectators." From the Bradford Reporter (Bradford, Pa.), May 19, 1847. Pfening Archives

This was in an ad for Finch, Miller & Co.'s menagerie. It not only sounds as if those in the rear can see over those in front, but that ladies were being spared climbing over others. Important, too, is the phrase "will be so constructed." This tells us that the seats will be put in place by show employees.

In 1831 Yeaman's Circus advertised that they had "permanent and convenient" seats for ladies. Neither of the adjectives tells us anything specific. Brown & Bailey in 1833 said they would "erect" seats, implying, obviously, that it was part of their

preparation for showing.

Three menageries advertised the number of seats they had during the 1833 season. Both Purdy, Welch & Co. and Purdy, Welch, Macomber & Co. announced that "300-400 seats will be erected." J.R. & Wm. Howe & Co. promised 400 to 500 seats. These figures are important as they imply some structure, not one-level seats. To have 400 seats on one side of a 42-foot ring (if that was its size) would necessitate tiering them. We hesitate at the ring size, because these menageries were presenting trained monkeys on ponies, not human equestrians, so the ring need not have been sizable.

There are so many descriptions of constructing the ring and so many references to the daily purchase of a center pole in the 1830s that we assume if seats were built each day from "scratch" we would find notice of it. Comments such as "seats will be prepared for the convenience of spectators," or "the proprietors have constructed commodious seats" seem to us to avoid that question. However, in 1835, June,

One of the first shows to advertise reserved seats was the Rockwell & Co. Circus of 1847. From the Boston Courier of March 1, 1847. Pfening Archives.

NEW-YORK CIRCUS.

ROCKWELL & CO...... MANAGERS.

(In Sudbury-Street, near Court.)

OBSERVE. Important alteration in prices and accommodation. Boxes and Parquet Boxes, 25 cents; Second Circle, 12; cents. For the hetter accommodation of the throng to the boxes, a portion of the parquet has been thrown open with the boxes, to which gentlemen and ladies will be admitted with box tickets. A few choice seats in parquet, numbered, and reserved at the usual price.

FIRST NIGHTS OF THE PONY RACES,

FIRST NIGHTS OF KEMP THE CLOWN.

March lat 24 and 24

Mills, TO-MORROW AND WEDNESDAY EVENINGS,
March 1st, 2d and 3d, the games will been with the
CHIVALROUS CAVALIERS.
Nixon and Children will appear! Also, for the first time, Mrs
Johnson and Mr Runnels! George Sweet, the aplendid Tight
Rope Magician; Myers, as the Spartan Horseman. Also, the
favorites, Camilla Gardner and Dan Gardner!

favorlies, Camilla Gardner and Dan Gardner! KEMP, the London Clown, in his Grand and Novel BARREL

For description see small bills. Open at 6, to commence

Afternoon performances every Saturday at 3 o'clock.

WELCH & DELEVAN'S



GRAND NATIONAL CIRCUS,

Late from the Amphitheatre Philadelphia, consisting of all star performers, and comprising upwards of one hundred and fifty men and horses. This splendid equestrain company will exhibit at Towanda on Tuesday May 25th. Performance commences at 2 o'clock.—Admission to this altractive and extensive exhibition, 25

Among this talented company will be found the farfamed Madam Macarte, whose during & graceful scenes place her without a rival in the world.

Mr. Levi North, who has borne away the palm of superiority from all competitors before the Royal Families of England and France, returning covered with the medals of bonor, will again appear before his native

Mr. J. Nathans, the great and unrivaled two and four horse rider will, while his horses are at full speed, introduce his daring act of balancing Frank Pastor on his head, and in a variety of elegant and graceful

attitudes.

Mrs. Woods, the graceful Allemande rider & leader

of the Cavalcades, will in her own peculiar Acts. Scenes and Performances, secure a large share of admiration. The Great and celebrated Clown. John May, the brightest star in his line and decidedly the best in his

Mr. E. Woods, the grand representative of the Red Man of the Forest.

Man of the Forest.

Moses Lipman the wonderful Vaulter and tumbler, the Hero of the South, will lead the Troop on the vault-

the Here of the South, will read the troop on the vauling board with many successive somersetts.

Mons. Macarte from the Royal Amphitheatre of
London, the great Acrobat, tumbler and vaulter, and
general gymnastic performer.

Frank Pastor, whose execution and grace, is beyond

compare, The finest proof of excellent teaching will appear in a touching, infantile, and admirable effort on ngle horse.

F. Brower, N Jamieson, and J. Stickney. the great representatives of the Ethiopian character, will give a comic concert, arranged in the neatest and most accurate esemblance in tone, speech and manner the real Ethiopians.

Equestrian director-Mr. J. J. Nathans; Riding

Master, Mr. Francis Whithaker.
The Celebrated American Thorough bred Dancing Horse Tammany, taught and performed by Mr. Levi North will astonish every beholder with his extraordinary performance of Waltzes, Quicksteps, Polkas, and a Grand Pirouette.

a Grand Pirouette.

The two excentric Ponies, Black Moggy and Jenny Lind, will appear in their diverting double act, in which they will leap through hoops, clear barrier bars, pick up various objects, and mount pedestals at a signal from their talented trainer, Mr. North.

The highly trained and beautiful Arabian horse, Andalusia, will, at a sign from his teacher, bound through halloons, leap over horses and various other barriers, by great pains and skill, trained and presented a Horse without a parallel in this or any other

by great pains and skill, trained and presented a forse without a parallel in this or any other country. The Great water-proof Pavilion is entirely new, ap-propriately decorated, and furnished with carpeted serts for the accommodation of three thousand spectators.— The arrangement of the interior is such as to preclude the possibility of an attempt at disorder or indecorum.

C. GRI-WALD. Agent.

Titus and Angevine's unit of the Zoological Institute said they had 1,000 portable seats. The seats, then, were brought to the lot with the other equipment. In the same year French, Hobby & Co. advertised elevated seats covered with cloth. And for the clincher, an 1835 Macomber, Welch & Co. poster in the Richard W. Flint collection illustrates tiered spectators on one side of the ring. Unfortunately, the poster shows no details. It would appear that the spectators were in ten-high rows, but other perspectives in the drawing are mishandled, so the height may represent artistic li-

Hyatt Frost, 50 years after the event, said he visited Howes, Sands & Co.'s Circus in 1835 and saw four-tier seats, a most welcome description for our purposes. From all these 1835 notes we can at least assume that by then bleachers, or a rudimentary form of what we now call bleachers, were in common use

Nathan Howes commented in his 1836 advertisements that his seats were constructed on a safe and improved plan. This would seem to indicate that safety was a concern; perhaps there had been seat collapses. The first such accident we have located occurred in Elmira, New York, on June 16, 1838. The Gazette of that city reported that during the performance of Buckley, Rockwell, Hopkins & Co.'s circus "a young man by the name of Smith, son of Job Smith of Southport, had his leg broken by the falling of the seats. The proprietor of the establishment gave the unfortunate young man the liberal sum of eighty dol-

Another such incident is in the Buffalo Commercial Advertiser of June 15,1842. It tells us that at Rockwell & Stone's performance of the day before, "a slight accident occurred by the giving way of the box seats, which was occasioned by the softness of the earth on which the props were placed." As we know, modern bleachers make use of wooden blocks to prevent the jacks from sinking. Rockwell & Stone's seating apparently did not, though we don't know if they used what are now called iacks.

An interesting aspect of this Buffalo report is that the bleachers are referred to as "box seats." The theatrical division, pit and box, was still current 17 years into the tented circus era.

By 1840 something had changed to the extent that Fogg & Stickney could announce, "the seats are so arranged as to make a few hours spent in witnessing the performance a pleasure instead of pain, as has heretofore too often been the case.' This could mean that the seat boards were wider than usual, or covered with carpet, or even that they had backs on them. They also promised that there were seats for all who might honor the exhibition with their presence. We take this to mean that the seats fully encircled the ring, perhaps for the first time.

References to the provision of seats cease after 1840, so whatever the arrangements, they were too common for comment. All shows provided seats; thus there was no advantage in advertising them. We may consider as well that the seats were similar by this time as no one advertised any improvements.

In the 1840s audiences might average 1,000 persons. Most tents were in the range of 150-foot round-tops. Raymond & Waring advertised 1,500 seats in their 1845 menagerie; Stone & McCollum, 800 seats in their circus. The latter also said that the pit entirely circled the arena in front of the dress circle. Apparently, the seats were raised so that viewers could look over the heads of the standees, an awkward arrangement at best. However, it reflected the pre-tent arena and may have been a solution based on that former arrangement. It indicates that more pit tickets than box tickets were being sold.

In this same year of 1845, Welch & Mann charged 25¢ "to all parts of the arena" with no half-price tickets begin offered. Democratic seating, to be sure, but more important, seeming proof that the seats completely surrounded the ring. To further that idea, their sister show, Welch, Mann & Delavan, advertised circular seats, meaning a circle of seats, we think, and definite proof that there was no standing room.

In 1847, Rockwell & Co. advertised "seats for every visitor," and offered "reserved seats" as well. This raises the question of what reserved seats could be in a one-ring format. The Eaton, Ohio, Register

of August 26 answers:

The "reserved seats" is the nicest piece of imposition in the concern, being nothing better than the others—a little worse, we think—the only difference being that they have a strip of dirty carpet upon them.

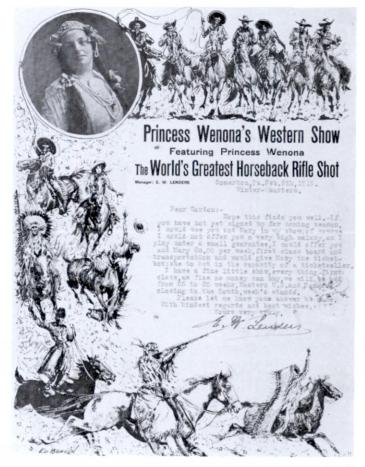
This circus and that of Gilbert R. Spalding both advertised reserved seats in 1847, as did Stone & McCollum in 1846. These, in our records, were the first to do so. No longer having a two-price admission based on whether one stood or sat, the showmen turned to a distinction in the seats themselves in order to have some extra income.

Somewhere in the development of bleachers as circus seats began the practice of painting them blue. One still sees that color in the tented circus. We have not found where or why or by whom this practice was begun. The earliest practitioner we have note of is John "Pogey" O'Brien. In 1869 he built a large brick building in Frankford, Pennsylvania (now part of Philadelphia), which he used as winter quarters and wagon shop. There is a noncontempo-

rary reference to his having the seats and standards painted blue in the course of winter work at that location. (The reference to O'Brien's use of blue paint is found in a paper read before the Historical Society of Frankford by Thomas Creighton on 17 November 1919.)

When the showmen abandoned the concept of the wooden arenas in favor of tented, traveling shows, they took on the responsibility for a "train" of show equipment. They had wagons, baggage stock, teamsters, and a tent, none of which appeared in the performance. When the seating arrangements reached a certain (as vet unknown) size, a crew of workmen was added. Their only duty was to erect and disassemble the seating each day. This division of labor in the circus, necessitated by the size of the physical plant, was one of the symptoms that led to the great changes in operational methods in the mid-twentieth century. Dependent as they were on a vast pool of unskilled labor, the circus could no longer function in the traditional pattern once that pool disappeared.

BILL KASISKA'S LETTERHEADS



The Princess Wenona's Western Show toured in 1919 under the management of E.W. Lenders. It was a small overland wild west opera. The illustrations left little room for the written message. It is printed in black.

THE 1985 CIRCUS HISTORICAL SOCIETY CONVENTION

The Circus Historical Society held its 1985 meeting at Pittsfield, Massachusetts, on June 20-23 in conjunction with the Clyde Beatty-Cole Bros. Circus. The Berkshire Hilton was an excellent choice for convention headquarters as it offered excellent accommodations and was located across the street from the show lot.

The festivities began with a showing of old-time circus films provided by George Bingaman and others, after which the group moved across the street to the Beatty-Cole big top to help celebrate show coowner John Pugh's and his wife Brigitte's wedding anniversary. Showfolks and fans renewed old friendships and made new ones at the party until long after midnight. Lois Hoover and Alice Harris of the show prepared a wonderful selection of hors d'oeuvres which were so good that everyone believed they had come from a local caterer until told differently.

The day next began with a rare treat as John Pugh and Doug Holwadel, the other owner of the circus, conducted a behindthe-scenes tour of the show. This was a fantasy come true as throughout the two-hour session members asked questions touching upon virtually every aspect of the operation. It left everyone with a much greater appreciation of the complexity and difficulty of running a modern circus. Many attendees felt this was the highlight of the convention, and Messrs. Pugh and Holwadel are to be complimented for taking time from their busy schedules to answer the dozens of questions from curious members.

A luncheon was held at the hotel after the tour. The CHS reciprocated Beatty-Cole's hospitality of the previous evening by inviting a number of circus personnel to the meal. A film of Clyde Beatty's cat act was shown, and John Pugh was made an honorary member of the organization, a well-deserved tribute to the man who has done a tremendous job in reviving the once-moribund Beatty-Cole Circus. In another gracious gesture the circus allowed the CHS to auction off the opportunity to ride an elephant in spec at the evening per-

After the meal the group returned to an adjacent room to listen to Wilson Storey reminisce about his 60 years in the circus business. Storey, the nephew of the great Alfred Court, recalled the exciting times he had on European shows in the 1920s and 1930s, and his experiences with Court's remarkable mixed animal acts on Ringling-Barnum in the 1940s. Doug Holwadel followed Storey to the podium, where he discussed the business side of the circus. His discussion of usually mundane matters such as liability insurance and accounting procedures was of the utmost interest to those present.

The rest of the afternoon and early evening was free so members could visit and



Dick Flint, Fred Pfening III, and Greg Parkinson (I. to r.) posed for the photographer at the banquet in Pittsfield. George Bingaman photo.

view some of the fine circusiana in the bull room. Organized by George Morrison and Ron Richards, the exhibit featured some wonderful material from Richards' collection, as well as from Eva Amidon and others. A few dealers had displays, giving members the opportunity to enlarge their collections.

That evening the multitudes went to the circus. Needless to say, this was a roaring success, as the Beatty-Cole show had a first-rate performance with many old favorites such as Dave Hoover and his cats and many new ones such as a very fine Arab tumbling act. Most of the CHS group hung around the lot after the show ended to watch the tear down.

The next morning began with a showing of a number of fine films, after which Greg Parkinson and Fred Pfening III discussed the Circus World Museum, and Joe McKennon talked about the Ringling Museum of the Circus. A brief business meeting was then held, in which it was learned that the organization is in relatively good financial health and that no dues increase is planned.

After the lunch break, a series of historical papers were given. John Still began this portion of the program by telling the story of the Beech Nut Circus, a model circus of the 1930s which was housed in truck bodies and used to promote Beech Nut gum. He was followed by Robert Kitchen's presentation on nineteenth-century circus bands. Robert Bodgan then gave a paper on the exhibition of human curiosities. After a brief intermission, Stuart Thaver discussed the Zoological Institute's routing practices. The session concluded with Joann Joy's talk on Van Amburgh's success in England in the 1830s and 1840s. The high-quality papers begged many questions from the audience, so many, in fact, that Dick Flint's planned comments on the development of the early menagerie and circus were bumped off the program because of the lack of time. Many of the papers will appear in Bandwagon.

That evening the banquet and third annual CHS auction were held. Among the circusiana going on the block were some older items such as a Barnum letterhead from the 1880s and an 1897 Ringling route book, along with a larger number of newer pieces including many route cards, letterheads, and posters. The bidding went on late into the night, with two members buying the majority of the material. When it was finally over, around \$2400 had been raised, an astonishing amount which was about equal to the total of the previous two auctions combined. This money, as well as the proceeds from the earlier elephant ride auction, will be used for the Bandwagon.

A bus trip the next day to what C.G. Sturtevant once called "the cradle of the American circus" was the meeting's finale. The first stop was Brewster's Southesat Museum, where Leslie Symington kindly showed the members their circus exhibit. This was followed by a tour of the Elephant Hotel, where Florence Oliver was equally gracious in showing off their treasures. After a picnic lunch near the hotel, the group traveled to Ivandell Cemetery. which is the final resting place of many of the men in the Zoological Institute. The Rev. George Bingaman was called upon to pay respects to the honored dead, and Stuart Thayer discussed their careers and contribution to the American circus. The day ended with a viewing of Morningthorpe, the mansion once owned by circus magnate Seth B. Howes.

The convention was a huge success, encompassing almost the entire history of the American circus from the early nineteenth century to the contemporary. About 60 members attended the event, including a large number of First of Mays, of whom at least two were descendants of prominent showmen of the last century. George Morrison, Ron Richards, and Clyde Reynolds assisted in pre-convention planning, and were of great help to Richard Flint, who again did a fine job as convention chairman. Fred D. Pfening III

